RECONSTRUCTION AFTER DISASTER
A STUDY OF WAR-DAMAGED VILLAGES IN LEBANON
THE CASE OF AL-BURJAIN

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TO LEBANON
TO MY FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on the reconstruction of war-damaged villages in Lebanon destroyed during the recent civil war (1975-1991). Its main aim is to understand the complexity of reconstruction through a detailed case study of one village namely; al-Burjain. In contrast to top down approaches to reconstruction, this study presents an approach which extends beyond looking at physical aspects to socio-economic, cultural and political issues. It also attempts to gain insights into the conditions of the community prior to disaster, as well as the new situation which emerged after the destruction of the village. It develops an understanding of the conditions of the people, and their needs and perceptions about reconstruction.

The research takes a qualitative approach because of its flexibility and appropriateness to the inquiry and practical conditions in the field. It is based on dynamic and interactive discussions with the community under study. Three methods are employed: discussion with key figures, detailed family case histories and a survey using semi-structured interviews of households. They reflect different degrees of focus on complexity of reconstruction and the conditions of the people.

The village case study (micro) is discussed and evaluated in three contexts (macro). Firstly, it deals with the context of reconstruction after disaster in theoretical and conceptual terms and with reference to practical experiences (Algeria and Iran). Secondly, it is located within the conditions of the country in which there are increased channels of contacts and communications between rural and urban areas. Thirdly, it discusses the development of rural areas in Lebanon from traditional times to the beginning of the war in order to draw lessons and to identify problems, possibilities and obstacles which could be helpful in planning for meaningful reconstruction.

The findings of the research cover two main part. The first part establishes principles and recommendations for the reconstruction of the village studied. In this sense, it translates the insights gained into practical solutions. It proposes a way of capitalising on people's initiatives, maximizing the use of available resources, to solve existing problems and improve conditions. It is a developmental process. The second part draws an analytical framework which can be used to study similar cases. This framework is a generalised basis upon which the issues related to the complexity of post-disaster reconstruction can be examined and dealt with. Finally, this research formulates theoretical perspectives which will inform professional intervention and decision making in reconstruction after disaster.

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PART I

CHAPTER 1: The Preamble

CHAPTER ONE:

THE PREAMBLE

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1.1 DEFINING THE PROBLEM

World-wide experiences of reconstruction after disaster, whether natural or man-made, have demonstrated the failure of conventional top-down approaches which concentrate largely on speed, standardization and technology-oriented solutions. In such approaches, mass housing production based mainly on prefabricated technology and professional judgement, has been offered as the remedy to problems of large scale destruction and homelessness resulting from disaster. The experiences of industrialized housing in Britain after the Second World War; of Turkey after the Gediz and Lice earthquakes (1970 and 1976 respectively); of Algeria after the al-Asnam earthquake (1980); of al-Fao after the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) [1]; and many other cases are vivid examples of how reconstruction programmes after a disaster can lead to "disastrous" consequences. While the intention of relief and reconstruction programmes is to alleviate human suffering by mobilizing resources and undergoing risk, unfortunately, "the victims of disasters ... are also, too often victims of relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and development programs" (Anderson, 1985: 46).

In such approaches to reconstruction, socio-economic, cultural and developmental issues have largely been overlooked because of the urgency to rehouse the victims rapidly. Top-down approaches to reconstruction too often ignore the complexity of the built environment, users' needs and potentials, and the social and cultural characteristics of the affected communities. They tend to be dominated by rigid technical and professional assumptions, and neglect the victims' participation in shaping their built environment. Consequently, the outcomes of such "symbolic schemes" do not go beyond producing expensive and alien housing units, and inevitably result in abandonment or extensive alterations to these dwellings. There is ample evidence that such situations generally lead to people's discontent towards the re-built environments.

> Many organizations including some of the most progressive developed groups lose their perspective after a disaster and ... concentrate their energies on the rapid delivery of relief items. The approaches normally used in a development programme - such as extensive citizen participation, support of existing social coping mechanisms and social systems, development of local initiatives, etc. - are set aside on the justification that the disaster requires an immediate response and the development approach is too slow.
>
> (Cuny, 1981: 4)

In contrast to this, many have advocated bottom-up approaches during the last two decades (Aysan & Oliver, 1987; Cuny, 1983; Cockburn & Barakat, 1991; Davis, 1978 & 1981; Landewijik & Shordt, 1985; UNDRO, 1982). These approaches call for user involvement, use of appropriate technology, and integration of reconstruction and development, as essential principles in post-disaster reconstruction. Undeniably, these approaches have tremendous advantages when carefully planned. For instance, they ensure a smoother implementation and are usually more economical. Furthermore, they will be better tailored to the needs and means of the users, their abilities and aspirations. However, this is not a simple undertaking, because it involves different perceptions, policies and practices. In fact, the practical applications are still in experimental stages and need to be developed comprehensively.

These bottom-up approaches are not without their own problems. They require complex interpretations of the various facets involved and cannot be restricted to physical aspects alone. They demand more comprehensive inputs and planning. They go beyond the usual "blueprints of dwelling units for construction", as in the top-down approaches. Instead, they require an interactive group process in which professionals and users are involved on an equal basis in the shaping of the reconstruction activities. They insist on identifying issues, needs, priorities, advantages, possibilities, potentials problems, and appropriate solutions as perceived by the communities themselves.

A general criticism of these approaches is the need to involve all the parties in the earliest stages of the project; a time when the situation is usually confused. To many, this seems to be impractical and complicated. However, this is not necessarily so, because it largely

depends on the techniques and approaches employed in dealing with the situation. As Friend and Hickling (1988) point out, complicated group processes and management of uncertainties have proven their worth in practice.

> ... 'settlement reconstruction' is an 'incremental learning process' by local people who have to learn to 'grow it', and for themselves 'to grow with it'. The product, the 'new' settlement, has to belong to those who live in it. This 'sense of place' and people's 'sense of belonging' to it can only be fully realized over time but we believe it can be planted right at the beginning by putting the responsibility with the prospective inhabitants through their **involvement**.
>
> (Cockburn and Barakat, 1991: 61)

Bottom-up approaches, however, require a careful and dynamic organization in which the professionals should assume major responsibilities. Clearly, the conventional practices of the professionals will be inadequate, because bottom-up approaches solicit facilitating the reconstruction process rather than directing and imposing. They also require the building of an appropriate bridge between the community and the authorities which is generally a major gap in top-down reconstruction processes.

> ... confidence in the architect's capacity to cope from a distance with the design problems of large-scale, low-cost settlements has been much reduced; an architect who functions as an 'enabler' and who works in an advisory capacity with the members of a community is believed to be more effective. Ensuring safe methods of construction and appropriate systems of servicing, assisting with the transfer of information and technology, acting as intermediary and advocate between settlers and authorities, he would seem to be a special breed of professional.
>
> (Oliver, 1987: 230)

1.2 THE SETTING

Since 1975, Lebanon has been eclipsed in the shadow of civil war (a man-made disaster). With the disintegration of the national army, the central government gradually lost control and its role has been limited to the provision of basic services, and nominal administrative affairs. Consequently, a major part of the Lebanese territories have come to be occupied by different parties and militia groups and clashes have become inevitable [2]. Only recently (1991), since the Gulf War and the "new Middle East order", the government has started to regain its power.

During these last sixteen years of internal conflict coupled with external military and political interventions, many problems have emerged. Political crisis, social disintegration and economic difficulties are the major outcomes. Furthermore, severe destruction has been inflicted on the country; many villages have been razed to the ground and the capital Beirut, together with other cities, has suffered from damage and division. Therefore, the housing problems which existed in Lebanon prior to the war have been intensified through destruction, the desertion of dangerous areas and attendant inflation.

In such a situation, people have been forced to move from one area to another, for political, religious and security reasons. These displacements have occurred for both short and long term periods. The pattern has also varied in other respects: from rural to urban, urban to rural or even within the same area, but always to a perceived relatively safer place. The types and the patterns of displacement have been directly influenced by the different stages of the conflict. For example, some have sought refuge in the capital either by squatting on unused land or by occupying vacant buildings [3].

During the random destruction and violence in Lebanon, reconstruction has been a major concern whatever the political solutions for peace and possibilities of resettlement which were in the offing (1977, 1983, 1991). This is clearly seen when in 1977, a Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) was established to deal with the task of preparing and following up the implementation of an overall reconstruction plan. Housing has always received priority in the reconstruction plans and was allocated a major part of the funds (see Appendix 1.1). In government manifestos, housing has been pledged to all, but in practice the government's role has not extended beyond providing loans for repair and housing replacement. Additionally, this is usually constrained by bureaucratic procedures, clientelism, corruption and the lack of a comprehensive housing policy. Thus, the government's contributions to solving housing problems have not been significant, particularly for displaced people. However, it should be noted here, that this

is not unusual or unexpected given the government's piecemeal involvement in housing prior to the war. As is already known, the temporary housing remedies even prior to war were invented under escalating housing shortages and problems. This is largely because housing has always been perceived as a commodity controlled by a speculative private sector, rather than a social good.

Moreover, proposals and plans for reconstruction appear to concentrate mainly on urban reconstruction projects, especially in Beirut, and these again focus on touristic, commercial and infrastructural programmes. There is no doubt that despite the vital importance of these projects, these are likely to have counter-productive effects in increasing migration from rural to urban centres if they are not balanced with comprehensive rural reconstruction programmes.

The central government regained power on a number of occasions during the war between 1975-1991. On these few occasions (1977, 1982, 1991) there have been intense activities of reconstruction. Unfortunately, indiscretion and over-simplification appear to have dominated solutions for dealing with the issue of displaced people and housing reconstruction in these activities. For instance, eviction of displaced people who were squatting was one of the first measures attempted without providing them with alternatives to house themselves. Similarly, the approach to reconstruction of war-damaged villages was inspired by industrialized technologies. The attitude behind this approach is evident in a statement made by a high official dealing with housing:

> There is one concrete promise that has been made by 'friendly countries' ... a promise of a gift of light prefabricated houses to be given to people who have no homes now. Displaced people in illegal homes will be given prefabricated houses, then encouraged to return to their homes.
> (Georgi, 1982: 36)

This suggests that the government did not have a comprehensive plan for housing reconstruction, which could have directed or guided the construction process. Of course, it cannot be denied that such confusion and disorganization are inevitable negative outcomes of a country which had been shattered by sixteen years of violent conflict. But lessons from similar experiences should be learnt and the common pitfalls avoided.

1.3 FORMULATION OF THE STUDY

The origins of this research are rooted in an earlier study of the housing situation of displaced people in West Beirut (El-Masri, 1988) carried out between 1986-1988 as part of a Master's degree programme. During the fieldwork in West Beirut, whilst documenting the experiences of the displaced people, it became clear that post-war reconstruction is a complex matter beyond the mere building of housing units. In fact, meaningful reconstruction must also respond to the socio-economic, cultural, and political realities of the affected communities. It needs tangible and practical solutions; it should address both immediate and long term problems; and it should help to build strong and workable relationships between professionals and affected communities.

In that study, therefore, two sets of recommendations were developed: short and long-term policies. The short term policy was aimed at supporting the displaced people in their place of refuge in order to reduce vulnerability and to ease difficulties. The long term policy recognized the reality, at that time, and the possibility of returning displaced people to their homes of origin (urban and rural). For this reason, one of the recommendations was that people willing to return to their damaged villages should be encouraged to do so through the provision of necessary support.

The theme of the present study is derived from these recommendations, and focuses on the reconstruction of damaged villages. After the recent military settlement in Lebanon, the present situation provides better opportunities for people to return to their villages. Thus, there is a better climate which facilitates rural reconstruction. Both government and rival factions alike demand the return of all displaced people to their places of origin as a precondition for a general political settlement. However, there is virtually no study

of the problems of reconstruction of rural areas in Lebanon to provide insights, based on dynamic and interactive discussions with the victims, for approaching this subject. Given this context, therefore, there is little need to stress the relevance and the originality of this study.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to identify practical and effective approaches to reconstruction of war-damaged villages in Lebanon. Hence, the study addresses the following question: **How could the re-built environment be best tailored to the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the affected community in order to speed its recovery and contribute to its development?** This will be achieved in two ways. The first is by a detailed case study of the damaged village of al-Burjain. This is to provide insights into the complexity of rural reconstruction programmes by identifying issues, priorities, problems and opportunities by dynamic discussions with the community under study. Although the field study has been undertaken at the community micro level, it will be evaluated within the context of national macro conditions and similar experiences of post-disaster reconstruction.

The second way is to develop from the village case study an analytical framework which could be used to study similar cases of damaged Lebanese villages in future research. The framework identifies the stages of investigation and the type of information needed in order to systematize the complex issues related to reconstruction. In this sense, the outcome of this research is not seen as an end in itself. Instead, it is intended to pave the way for further research.

In this light, the following objectives are set up to provide a framework to guide the investigation:

1- To develop from the available literature a theoretical and conceptual understanding of the issues related to post-war reconstruction; this involves attention to:
   - definition, types, similarities and differences between disasters;
   - modes of recovery after disaster and relevant inter-relationships;
   - common mistakes and pitfalls of reconstruction programmes; and
   - issues related to reconstruction activities such as stages, skills, mobilization of resources and relief.

2- To examine two practical experiences of reconstruction after disasters. The first experience is of Algeria after the al-Asnam earthquake (1980). The second experience is of reconstruction in Iran after the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988). Lessons, problems and issues of post-disaster reconstruction identified in the theoretical chapter will be examined as they are manifested in reality.

3- To examine rural reconstruction in Lebanon within the national context in general and the rural context specifically in order to understand the social, economic and political scenario in which rural reconstruction will take place. This is based on reviewing:
   - socio-economic and cultural conditions of Lebanon;
   - housing conditions and rural-urban relationships prior to the war;
   - the war: its stages and development, displacement and shelter provision; and
   - the development stages of Lebanese villages: traditional, transitional and war.

4- To focuss on the process of reconstruction in a selected case study, al-Burjain of Mount Lebanon, in order to gain insights into the local conditions which could influence and shape reconstruction of the village. This involves studying:
   - socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the community;

- housing conditions prior to destruction: process of building, finance, dwelling components, public facilities, infrastructure, etc. This means to examine the visible and invisible structures which shape the built environment;
- housing conditions after destruction: displacement patterns, shelter provisions, problems, possibilities of returning to the original village, etc.; and
- people's views and expectations regarding reconstruction.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology has been defined as the philosophy which guides the research process in viewing reality and knowledge, and in retrieving the word of the individual and information from people (Bailey, 1987: 32-33). Philosophers and researchers have been preoccupied in a long-standing debate about the best methodological approaches to study social phenomena. Several sources provide a detailed discussion of what has come to be called "the paradigms debate" (Cook & Reichardt, 1979; Filstead, 1970; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 1988). A paradigm is a particular world-view and a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. This debate has been centred on two fundamental approaches:

> ... (1) logical-positivism, which uses quantitative and experimental methods to test hypothetical-deductive generalizations, versus (2) phenomenological inquiry, using qualitative and naturalistic approaches to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings.
>
> (Patton, 1990: 37)

These two approaches have different characteristics and involve varied strengths and weaknesses. However, it would be deceptive to conceive the differences in terms of presence or absence of quantification.

> ... qualitative researchers are not averse to quantification as such, and often include some counting procedures in their investigations. Similarly, quantitative researchers sometimes collect qualitative material for their investigation. ... there is considerably more to the contrast than to the relative importance of quantitative data and associated data collection procedures.
>
> (Bryman, 1989: 24)

However, the most fundamental characteristic of qualitative, in contrast to quantitative, research is its focus on the perspective of the individuals being studied as well as their interpretations of the environments in which they live. It approaches the fieldwork without being constrained by rigid pre-determined categories of response, which contributes to openness, flexibility, and the depth of qualitative inquiry. This increases understanding of the subject of the study but reduces generalizability. By comparison, quantitative research is directed by a prior set of assumptions, whether deriving from theoretical issues or from reading the literature on a particular subject. This implies the use of standardized questionnaires so that the varying perspectives and experiences of the people can be fitted into a limited number of pre-determined response categories to which numbers are often assigned. This facilitates comparison and statistical aggregation of the data and increases generalizability but can oversimplify and reduce the depth of understanding of social phenomena.

> Numbers do not protect against bias; they merely disguise it. All statistical data are based on **someone's** definition of what to measure and how to measure it. An "objective" statistic like the consumer price index is really made up of very subjective decisions about what consumer items to include in the index. Periodically government economists change the bias and definition of such indices.
>
> (Patton, 1990: 480)

On this basis, the present research applies a qualitative process because of the suitability of this approach to the research topic. The research aims to explore the issue of reconstruction from the perspective of the people themselves and requires an intimate understanding of their ways of life. As already discussed, bottom-up approaches to reconstruction, based on interaction and sharing experiences with the people involved, may yield more satisfactory results in reconstruction activities.

The theoretical foundation or orientation behind qualitative inquiry is commonly referred to as Grounded Theory. Walker (1985: 19) describes this type of theory as "grounded on the experiences - the world view - of those likely to be affected by a policy decision". It is the theory which develops inductively from data which spring from close involvement

and direct contact with the empirical world. This means that theory-building tends to occur at the end of the collection process rather than at the outset (Bryman, 1989: 25). As Bailey explains:

> Grounded theory is a theory that is discovered or originated from data rather than being abstract and tentative. It is developed by: (1) entering the fieldwork phase without a hypothesis; (2) describing what happens; and (3) formulating explanations.
>
> (Bailey, 1989: 54)

Although a full discussion of the research methods and constraints is presented in Chapter Six, it may be helpful here to give an outline of the different methods employed. The research uses a combination of empirical evidence from field research and theoretical perceptions from the relevant literature.

Empirical evidence or primary information was derived by a variety of methods depending on the context of investigation. Observation and discussions with officials were employed during the evaluation of the Iranian experiences of reconstruction, while a wider combination of methods were used in studying the Lebanese case. These included discussions with key figures, in-depth family case histories, and a qualitative survey using semi-structured interviews [4].

Secondary information relevant to the study was obtained from a variety of sources such as libraries, institutions, newspapers and research centres (see Appendix 1.2). There are also the author's personal experiences as a Lebanese architect who had studied, practised and lived through the war in Lebanon, experiencing first-hand what was occurring in terms of displacement and destruction.

It should be noted that war in general imposes severe constraints and limitations on fieldwork. The complex military situation in Lebanon and the sensitivity of issues related to reconstruction were among the difficulties to be overcome during the fieldwork. However, this point will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Six.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is presented in nine chapters of five interconnected parts (Fig. 1.1). After Chapter One which is the preamble, Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical and conceptual understanding of disaster such as definition, types, recovery process and common mistakes which are likely to occur in post disaster reconstruction.

Chapter Three examines in detail two experiences of reconstruction after disaster. The first focuses on the reconstruction programme implemented in Ech-Cheliff (al-Asnam) after the 1980 earthquake. The second surveys the reconstruction activities in the city of Isfahan and Khuzestan province in Iran following the eight years of war between Iran and Iraq.

Chapter Four provides an overview of Lebanon, focusing on socio-economic and political conditions of the country. It examines the context in which the sixteen years of conflict took place. It also investigates the housing situation prior to and after the war, as well as rural-urban relationships. Furthermore, the chapter reviews the government's efforts in reconstruction.

Chapter Five focuses on rural conditions of Lebanon. It concentrates on the development of the Lebanese village from the traditional stage until the outbreak of the war. Socio-economic conditions, relationships between urban and rural areas and traditional architecture are the main areas for discussion. However, examining rural conditions during the war period (1975-1991) will be dealt with by a detailed village case study (al-Burjain) which is the task of Chapters Seven and Eight.

Chapter Six provides a detailed review of the various methods used during the fieldwork in one of the damaged villages in Lebanon. The methods are presented in a way that identifies the main advantages and disadvantages. This chapter also shows how these different methods are complementary to each other.

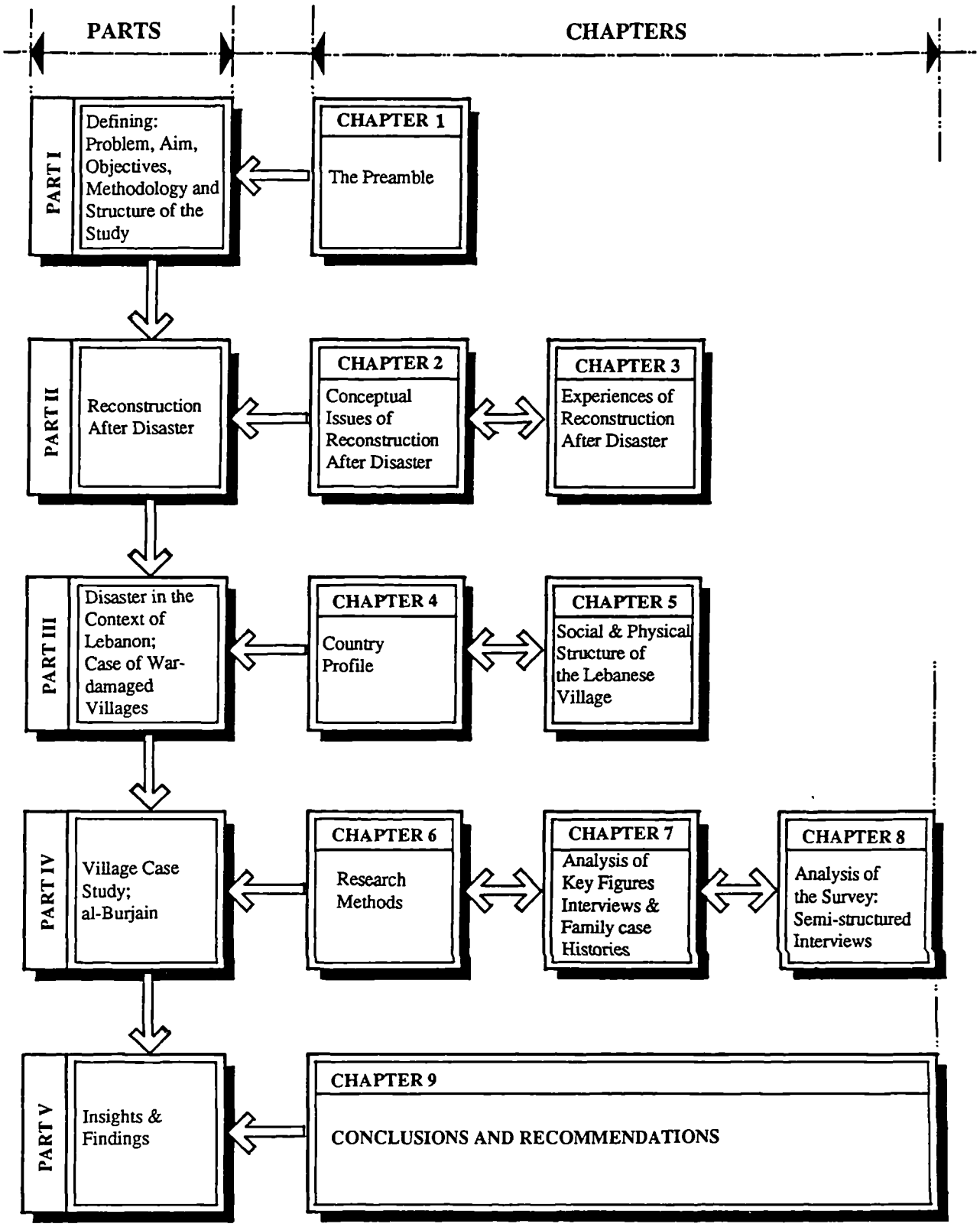

Fig. 1.1: Structure of the study.

Chapter Seven analyses the first part of the information collected during the first two stages of the fieldwork; discussions with key figures and in-depth family case histories. It aims to provide an overview of the village including socio-economic conditions, ways of life, problems, housing process, etc. This is achieved by focusing on the conditions of the village before and after destruction.

Chapter Eight analyses the second part of the fieldwork. It focuses on the analysis of the semi-structured interviews of the forty cases. It deals with three groups of families identified according to their housing situation at the time of the fieldwork (July-August 1990). Some families are displaced in another village and have not started rebuilding. Others are living in a nearby village and have started rebuilding their original dwellings, while the rest are living in their original dwellings which are in the process of reconstruction. This range of circumstances provides a frame upon which to analyse and compare between different stages of conditions and reconstruction activities.

Chapter Nine presents recommendations and conclusions of the study. It starts by discussing the summaries of the various chapters in order to establish principles and issues to guide rural reconstruction in Lebanon. Then these principles and issues are translated into practical recommendations for the reconstruction of al-Burjain. It also evaluates the methodology applied and its feasible application in other damaged villages in Lebanon. Consequently, theoretical perspectives are developed in the light of the findings and insights gained. The study also initiates opportunities for further research by identifying specific issues for future investigation. Finally, the study is supplemented by a number of appendices which give additional details of relevance to the various points discussed in the different chapters.

NOTES

[1] **Reconstruction experiences:** For further reading on the experiences of reconstruction, readers may refer to the following studies:
- In Britain: Berry, (1974); Donnison, (1967); Short, (1982); Ward (1985).
- In Turkey: Aysan & Oliver (1987) in the case of the Gediz earthquake; and Cavanagh & Johnson (1976) in the case of the Lice earthquake.
- In Algeria: Hireche (1987)
- In Iraq: Barakat (1989 & 1992)

[2] **Lebanese Civil War:** refer to Cobban (1985); Deeb (1980); Gordon (1983); Kliot, (1986); Salibi (1976)

[3] **Displacement:** refer CDR (1983); El-Masri (1988, 1989); Nasr (1983).

[4] **Semi-structured interview:** Patton (1990: 280-290) refers, to this type of interview as general interview guide approach.

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PART II

CHAPTER 2: Conceptual Issues of Reconstruction After Disaster

CHAPTER 3: Experiences of Reconstruction After Disaster

CHAPTER TWO:

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER DISASTER

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

Planning for reconstruction after a disaster is a melding of two sources of understanding. The first is an understanding by cross comparison between different types of disasters in different localities. This involves identifying common issues, lessons and problems of reconstruction after disasters. The second is an understanding of the peculiarities of a certain type of disaster in a specific locality, e.g. the civil war in Lebanon. This is achieved by examining the problem in its place; it involves the investigation of the conditions, issues and factors which can affect future reconstruction in the affected area. The two sources of understanding are interrelated. In a sense that the 'common' issues, lessons and problems could be a guide for future reconstruction in a certain locality. While the 'specific' situation could enrich the understanding of the commonality of issues related to reconstruction after disaster.

This chapter focuses on the first source of understanding for several related reasons. Firstly, it is becoming clear that many disasters display similar features and characteristics in terms of destruction, disruption, modes of coping, etc. Secondly, there are, whatever the type of disaster, common mistakes and problems which are related to the issues of relief, aid and reconstruction. Finally, it is doubly important, with the paucity of literature on post-war reconstruction to develop an adequate understanding of the concepts and issues related to reconstruction after war from the available knowledge and experiences especially after natural disasters.

2.2 EVALUATION OF DISASTERS AND RECONSTRUCTION STUDIES

In the last two decades, the research activities on disasters and reconstruction have considerably escalated, especially in the case of natural hazards. In fact, the growth of interest in the topic has been exponential rather than linear. In part, it is a reflection of

the fact that there have been many disastrous events, accompanied by large losses of life and property. This is specially so in the case of many developing countries, where damage effects are exacerbated by rapid urbanisation, economic recession, exploitation of resources, inadequate development plans, etc. At the same time, the failure of the majority of reconstruction projects and the problems associated with relief programmes have led to the growth of critiques and discussions [1]. In parallel, there has been an expansion in the knowledge of low-income housing which recognizes the potential of people's participation, the use of appropriate technology, and the importance of socio-economic and cultural considerations. It is an approach which focuses on the process of housing provision rather than the final products in order to provide adequate shelter for the poor [2]. Additionally during the 80s and early 90s, wars have become another area of research interest for scholars in the field of disasters [3].

These studies about disasters and reconstruction cover a wide range of disciplines: Economics, Sociology, Engineering, Planning, Medicine, Architecture, Relief and Humanitarian Studies, etc. [4]. This reveals the complexity of the topic and the variety of issues involved in both understanding disasters and their consequences and planning for reconstruction. However, these efforts have contributed to sharpening our understanding of key issues and details of the subject; "Reconstruction After Disaster". This understanding is based on the shift from concentrating on physical impacts to socio-economic and cultural impacts as well. It is a shift from only building houses to social support and economic regeneration to accelerate the recovery process of the victims. The benefit of these lessons have merged in developing "new action oriented policies" e.g. (UNDRO, 1982 & 1989; Aysan & Oliver, 1987).

In planning for post-war reconstruction, it is important to consider the advice, knowledge and experiences, of others who have studied disasters. But, unfortunately the guidance offered by previous workers in the field is less clear than might have been hoped. The problem is not of a paucity of materials, for many are available, rather it is

a matter of distortion and gaps existing in the available knowledge. Distortion is related to the fact that the bulk of literature is devoted to issues and problems of natural disasters (fast-impact) such as: earthquakes, cyclones, volcanoes, etc. While literature on post-war reconstruction, which focuses on bottom-up approaches, is still in its infancy. This could be explained by the difficulties and risks in war prone areas [5]. Access to information and to the study area, and the long term and slow impacts of wars have made post-war reconstruction less favourable for researchers than fast-impact disasters.

2.2.1 NEEDS FOR RESEARCH

In the available literature, the gaps are related to the need for additional research in many areas in order to have a complete picture of the issues and factors affecting reconstruction programmes. Cuny (1981), Davis (1981) and UNDRO (1982), among many others, have identified the 'gaps in our knowledge' in which research are still needed nowadays. These gaps can be categorized into four major areas which are selected on the bases of commonality between natural and war disasters.

The first area is the **documentation of past experiences**. This includes reviewing the actions, policies and approaches used in past reconstruction programmes. Comparison and evaluation of these programmes can bring to light key issues and principles to guide decision making, planning and implementation processes.

The second area is **better understanding of disaster survivors.** Information is needed on the social coping mechanisms after disasters, and the causes which encourage or hinder the recovery process of the victims. Similarly, information is required about the reasons for rising expectations within the affected community.

The third area is **better understanding of the intervenors' role.** This involves the examination of practical ways to introduce the concept of accountability to the victims

in governmental and relief agency actions. Also, better assessment techniques are required in order that local needs and priorities are clearly identified. In parallel, the development of appropriate evaluation techniques of reconstruction programmes is essential. This will allow, at an early stage, to discover and adjust any negative implications of a reconstruction programme on the victims' recovery process.

The fourth and final area is **better understanding of socio-cultural and economic aspects of housing reconstruction.** This requires deeper and sensitive comprehension of the concept of homelessness and the complexity of housing provision in disaster prone areas. Furthermore, information is needed about the effect of materials distribution and cash grant on the normal housing market and building industries, as well as the impacts on the economy of the community.

All these areas show the limitations and difficulties faced by research in the field of reconstruction after disaster in general, and in the case of post-war reconstruction in specific. However, these areas convey that the relationships between reconstruction and development need to be explored and evaluated in order to achieve better results. Consequently, planning for post-war reconstruction requires an appropriate and imaginative approach to explore the complexity and the variety of the related issues.

2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF DISASTERS

Conventionally, disasters are classified into two main categories: natural and man-made based on origin as a criterion for classification (Table 2.1). This classification is of limited usefulness as the old belief which divides disasters into 'Acts of God' and 'Acts of Man' is totally refuted nowadays. In fact, all disasters are 'Acts of Man' in which a hazard turns into a disaster by human error or lack of foresight. Therefore, many

A. Natural disasters

1. Natural phenomena beneath the earth's surface:
   (*a*) earthquakes
   (*b*) tsunamis
   (*c*) volcanic eruptions
2. Natural phenomena of complex physical origin at the earth's surface:
   (*a*) landslides
   (*b*) avalanches
3. Meteorological/hydrological phenomena:
   (*a*) windstorms (cyclones, typhoons, hurricanes)
   (*b*) tornadoes
   (*c*) hailstorms and snowstorms
   (*d*) sea surges
   (*e*) floods
   (*f*) droughts
4. Biological phenomena:
   (*a*) locust swarms
   (*b*) epidemics of communicable diseases

B. Man-made disasters

1. Caused by warfare:
   (*a*) conventional warfare, including siege and blockade
   (*b*) non-conventional warfare (nuclear, biological, chemical)
2. Caused by accidents:
   (*a*) vehicular (planes, trains, ships, cars)
   (*b*) drowning
   (*c*) collapse of buildings and other structures
   (*d*) explosions
   (*e*) fires
   (*f*) biological
   (*g*) chemical, including poisonings by pesticides and pollution

Table 2.1: Natural/Man-Made Classification of Disasters.
Source: Western, 1972: 6.

authors identify the need "to take the nature out of disasters" [6]. Moreover, the multiple causes often associated to create a disaster make natural/man-made classification even more difficult to support in a rigorous way.

In comparison, Cuny (1981, 4) divides disasters into two categories based on the duration of disaster occurrence. The first category is 'cataclysmic' disasters (fast-impact) such as earthquakes, floods, cyclones, etc. In this type, a large hazardous event, sometimes associated with smaller events, causes most of the damage and destruction. This creates tremendous chaos and suffering, but the situation tends to improve as time passes. The second category is 'continuing' disasters (long-term) as in the case of wars, droughts and famines. The situation may fluctuate over a long period of time and the damage is extremely large - e.g. the civil war in Lebanon 1975-1991.

> How can this categorization of disasters help the programme planner? In a cataclysmic disaster, the building process is likely to be unaffected in the long-term. Therefore, housing assistance must either be channelled through, or be compatible with, the normal housing process. In a continuing disaster, however, only fragments of the normal housing process may be available and new coping mechanisms must be instituted in order to achieve the programme objectives.
>
> (Cuny, 1981: 4)

Despite the fact that Cuny's categorisation is more enlightening than the first; it is less discussed and used in the literature available on the topic. However, natural/man-made classification is used in this research for convenience, but the complexity of factors involved in creating disasters has not been overlooked.

2.4 DEFINITION OF DISASTERS

Disaster is a 'sponge concept'; it comes to encompass different events and accidents. Indeed, when we examine the manner in which we use the term disaster in describing errors, slips and accidents of various kinds we may recognize the difficulty in finding a suitable definition for the term disaster.

Conceptualization of a clear and appropriate definition is of a great importance for research and legislative needs (Krimgold, 1974: 10). For research needs, the definition should provide a complete picture of the creation, effects and consequences of disasters. It should also provide a base to identify similarities and differences between different types of disasters. Furthermore, there must be a common understanding of the use of terminologies for communication and evaluation of past experiences. For the legislative needs, the definition should provide a description of the circumstances which necessitate providing funds and help in order to justify the employ of exceptional measures. In addition, definitions can provide clues of the perceptions governing the intervenors' actions and plans (Cuny, 1983: 140-144).

A variety of definitions have already been discussed in the literature about disasters. Some are similar by focussing on the same point, others are complementary to each other by concentrating on different issues. For instance, Endlemm (1952) has proposed the following definition of disaster:

> ... an event concentrated in time and space, in which a society, or a relatively self-sufficient subdivision of a society, undergoes severe danger and incurs severe losses to its members and physical appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfilment of all or some of the essential functions of the society is prevented.
>
> (quoted in Krimgold, 1974: 9)

As an official definition of disasters, the American Office of Emergency Preparedness (1972) has used the following:

> Disaster means occurrence of imminent threat of widespread or severe damage, injury, or loss of life or property resulting from any natural or manmade cause, including but not limited to fire, flood, earthquake, wind, storm, wave action, ..., volcanic activities, epidemic, air contamination, blight, drought, infestation, explosion, riot, or hostile military or paramilitary action.
>
> (quoted in Krimgold, 1974: 9)

Both definitions identify the effects of disasters, but they do not describe how it is created. While the American definition is only limited to physical damage and death; Endlemm proceeds more to cover the social disruption which is an important issue. Nevertheless, both definitions have an important weakness by not mentioning that there is a social response to the chaos and suffering. In principal Quarantelli (1978: 3-4) categorizes this response into four different levels: the societal, the community, the organizational, and at the mass aggregate or individual level. Moreover, some of the details like time, space and listing the kinds of disaster are not helpful or illuminating in defining disaster and how it becomes disaster. Western's definition provides a clue for this:

> A disaster becomes a disaster only when man and the environment he has created are affected. An avalanche in an uninhabited valley, or an earthquake in the Arctic are geophysical events, not disasters.
> (Western, 1972: 7)

This is true, but the effects of disasters are not only limited to man and his built environment because the damage to natural environment can indirectly have negative psychological and health effects on the victims. Davis (1987a, 8) gives a better answer by defining "disaster ... as the interface between hazard - whether natural or man-made - and vulnerable conditions" (Fig. 2.1).

Despite the truth of all the previous definitions, they are incomplete in many respects. A combination of all of them provides a more satisfactory and explanatory definition:

Disaster is the interface between a hazard (natural or man-made) and vulnerable conditions which cause losses to man and his environment (built and natural). These losses create suffering and chaos leading to social, economic, and sometimes also political, disruption which encounter by a social response: societal, communal, organizational, individual (Fig. 2.2).

In this definition, neither time or space, nor description of losses are mentioned. It conveys a better idea of the creation and the effect of a disaster, as well as the victims' responses. The wide and complex nature of the topic requires a definition which can embrace all the relevant events.

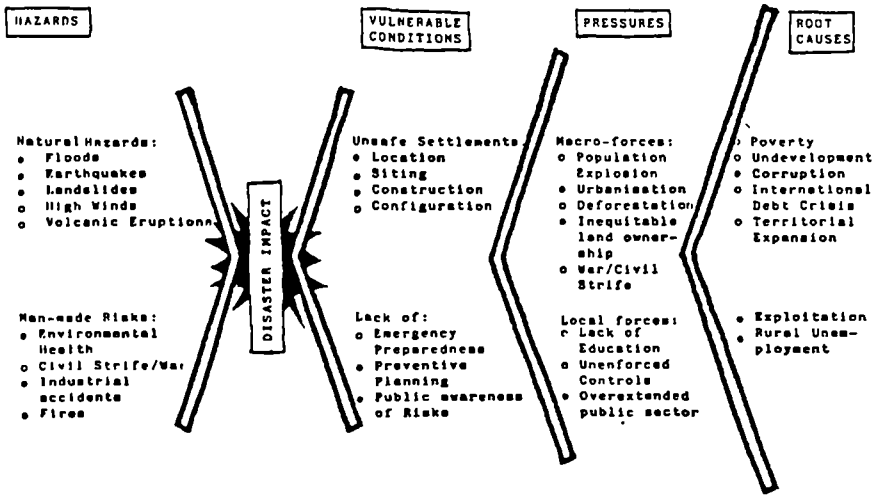


Fig. 2.1: A disaster as Interface Between Hazard and Vulnerability.
Source: Davis, 1987a: 8.

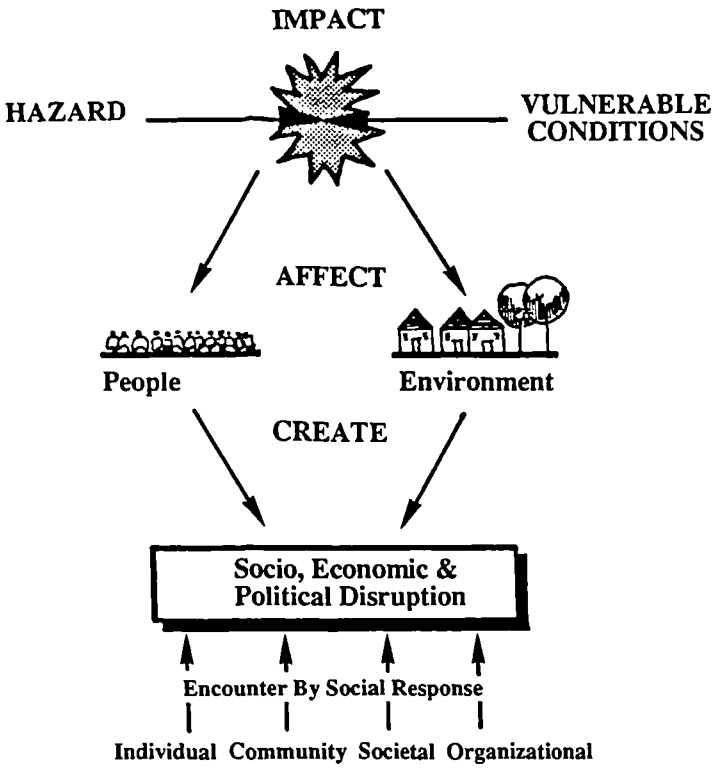


Fig. 2.2: Disaster: Creation, Effects, Consequences and Responses.
Source: Developed out of: Kirmgold, 1974: 9; Quarantelli 1978: 3-4; Western, 1972: 7; Davis 1987a: 8.

2.4.1 WAR IN THE CONTEXT OF DISASTERS

War is classified as a man-made disaster of long term-impact. The frequency of war in history is striking. Since the 2nd World War, which was expected to be the last one, "there have been about 300 wars. There has been no single day free of war and few islands of tranquillity" (Kidron & Smith, 1983: ?). The record of invasions, battles, defeats dominate the history of human civilizations. In more simple words, it is the history of war waged for many ideological, political, social, economic, religious reasons, etc. Clausewitz defined "war as an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will" (Howard & Paret, 1976: 75).

The techniques, weaponries have greatly modified with the development of science and international affairs. Hence war has developed from conventional, to nuclear, to chemical, to biological, to guerrilla, and more recently to space war. In classifying wars, there are many considerations which could be listed as follows:

- Who are the two or more sides in conflict?
- How serious is the fight?
- What kind of armaments and or weapons are used?
- What are the goals of the war?
- Where (geographically) is the war going on?

(Zargar, 1989: 2-3)

However, many wars in Third World Countries have been generated from arms trade and strategic considerations between the superpowers and their respective allies [7]. an astronomical figure of money spent every year on armament (Fig. 2.3). In fact, many famines and homelessness problems are the direct results of the displacement of war refugees, who are forced away from their lands and farms - e.g. Sudan, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yugoslavia, etc. The list is so long. War has not curbed, neither with civilization and progress, nor with anti-war movements and literature. The frequency and the antiquity of war in human history make it "the ancestor of all disasters" [8].

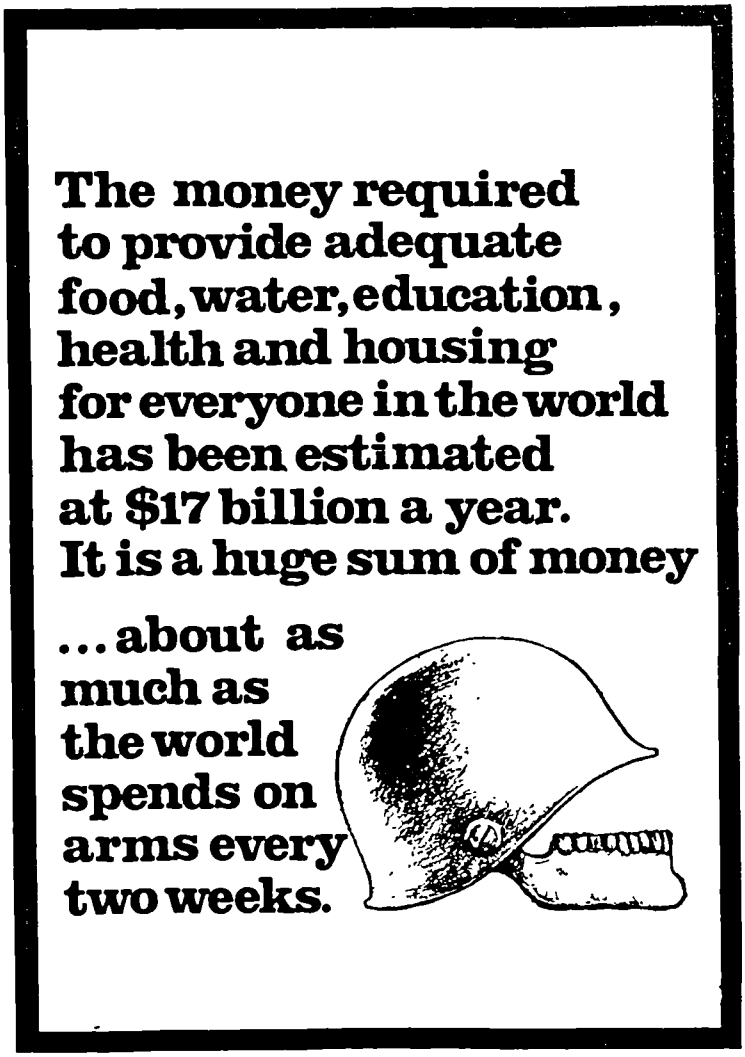


Fig. 2.3: Campaign Against Arms Trade.
Source: Leeds Postcard, 1976.

2.5 COMPARISON BETWEEN NATURAL DISASTERS AND WAR

Despite the fact that disasters display similar characteristics and features, and that there are common lessons of reconstruction, it is recognized that every disaster is a unique event. Similar disasters - e.g. earthquake, civil war, etc. - can generate different effects and then have different approaches to reconstruction according to the local conditions and the degree of development.

The paucity of materials about post-war reconstruction could be compensated by capitalizing on the potential of literature of reconstruction after natural disasters. One approach is the comparison between similarities and differences of important issues which could be helpful in understanding the planning of post-war reconstruction. These issues are: degree of severity, disruption model, modes of coping and recovery time, and reconstruction process.

2.5.1 DEGREE OF SEVERITY

The scale of physical damage, economic losses and social disruption differ greatly between similar disasters in two different localities - e.g two earthquakes of similar magnitude in San Fernando and Managua [9]. Davis & Seitz (1982) relates this differentiation to four factors: government effectiveness, government instability, available resources and social context. In more simple words Cuny (1983) refers to all these factors as the level of development which is directly related to the level of vulnerability of the area as has been explained by the definition of disaster developed earlier in this chapter. This implies that the variability of the degree of severity of the same type hazard in two different localities is directly related to the social, economic, and political conditions of the affected area.

However, experiences have shown that wars have more lasting bitter consequences than natural disasters due to the type of hazard (weapons) and the scale of time and area involved (Lewis, 1987 & Zargar, 1988 & 1989).

> In the last forty years less than 1.5 million perished in natural disasters. In WW II 40 million, in Biafra 1.1 million, in Vietnam 1.8 million, in Bangladesh 1.5 million ....
>
> (Zargar, 1988: 1)

Moreover, damage assessment involves different problems in both natural disasters and wars due to issues related to the politics of aid and relief. On one hand, in the case of natural disasters the general pattern is that the international community is enthusiastically mobilised to support the affected people for a variety of reasons; humanitarian, political, economic, etc. In such conditions, damage assessment tends to be exaggerated by the recipients to attract more aid or by the donors to praise their efforts and achievements. On the other hand, in the case of war, international support tends to be controlled by many political considerations. Therefore, the situation may deteriorate and generate other related disasters; famine in the case of Iraq after the Gulf War. Contrary to natural disasters, losses of war, in many cases, tend to be minimized for military and morale issues (Iran/Iraq). It is said that the 'truth is the first casualty of war'. In any case, the social disruption and the long term effects created by a disaster, especially after war (long-term), are difficult to be quantified .

2.5.2 DISRUPTION MODEL

Between the impact of a disaster and the socio-economic and political disruption, there is a very complex process of different interwoven aspects. This could be better explained by the model drawn form the Fruili earthquake in Italy of 1976 (Fig. 2.4). The model shows the connection between the main hazard, the secondary effects and their impacts on society in the stricken area. It provides a better basis for understanding of the physical and economic losses and the social stress and disruption created by a

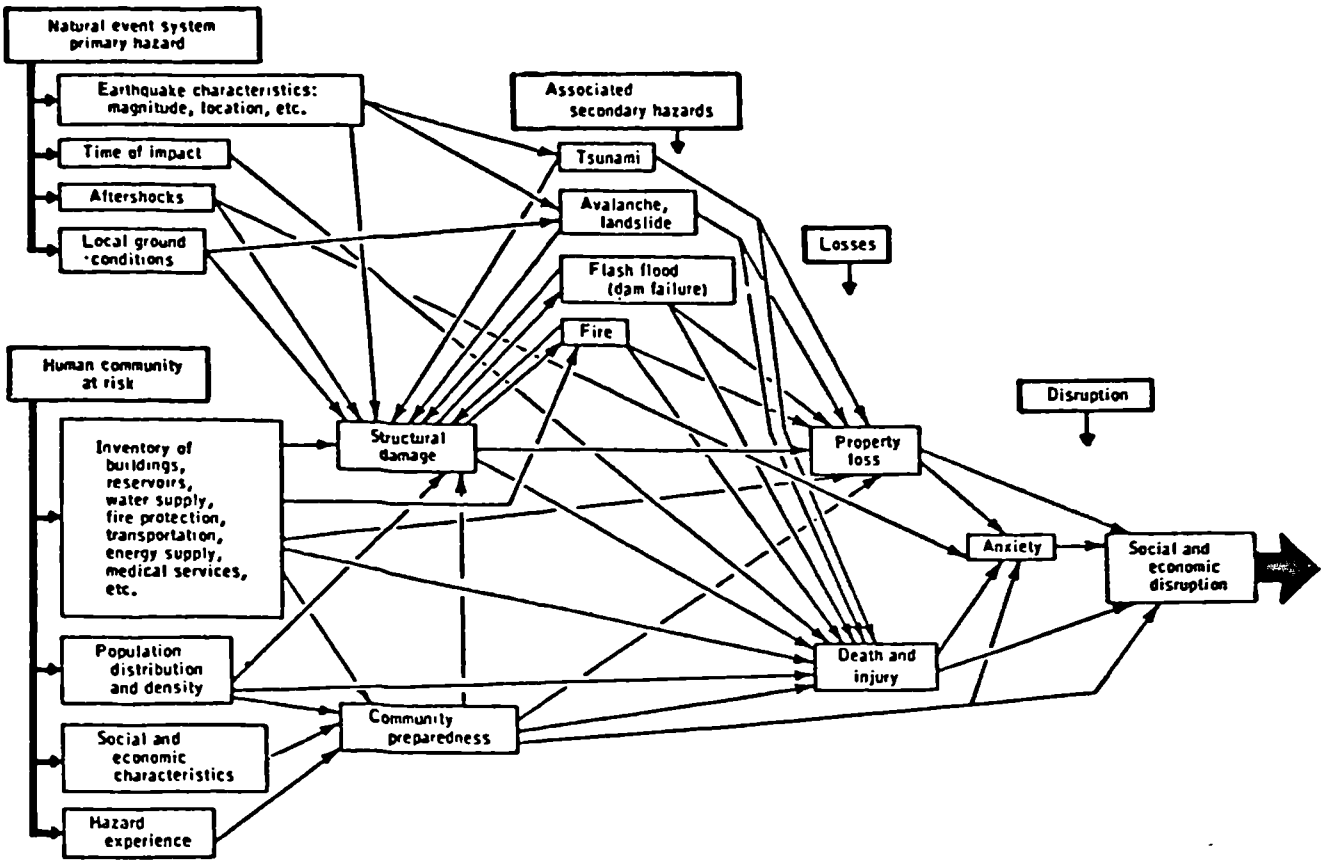


Fig. 2.4: A model of Creation of Social and Economic Disruption in Case of Fruili Earthquake in Italy (1976).
Source: Geipel, 1982: 64.

disaster. This model was an inspiration and provided guidance for developing another one directly related to the civil war in Lebanon (Fig. 2.5). It shows the complexity of the relationships between the various social-spatial consequences of the war. This could provide a better basis for cooperation between the different groups involved in reconstruction.

2.5.3 MODES OF COPING

Sociologists and psychologists have been prominent in studying people's biological and cultural adaptations to traumatic events [see Note 4]. The modes of coping, which are likely to be similar in war situations, could be identified into two main areas: Adaptation (biological and cultural) and Adjustment (incidental and purposeful). These two modes are further divided into absorption, acceptance, reduction and change of use and livelihood. Moving form one mode to another requires crossing a significant threshold of awareness, action or intolerance (Burton et al., 1978: 203-223). Diagrammatically these modes are illustrated in (Fig. 2.6). The degree of importance of any mode depends on the type of society (traditional, industrial, pre-industrial, mixed).

> A society may remain in one mode with respect to floods, while crossing one or more thresholds with respect to drought. The thresholds themselves are not fixed levels, and movement in relation to them may be occasioned by a shift in any one of several variables. Changes in human response result from the cumulative individual, collective and national choices.
>
> (Burton et al., 1978: 206)

The time between the disaster occurrence and the stage at which community goes back to normalcy is considered the recovery time. On the family level, the time of recovery is affected by a variety of factors which could be categorized in the followings: the nature of the disaster agent, socio-economic characteristics of victims, community normative and resources structure and the extensiveness of kin networks (Fig. 2.7). Family recovery is also varied according to the social context; kinship ties tend to dominate in traditional areas and institutional networks in industrial ones.

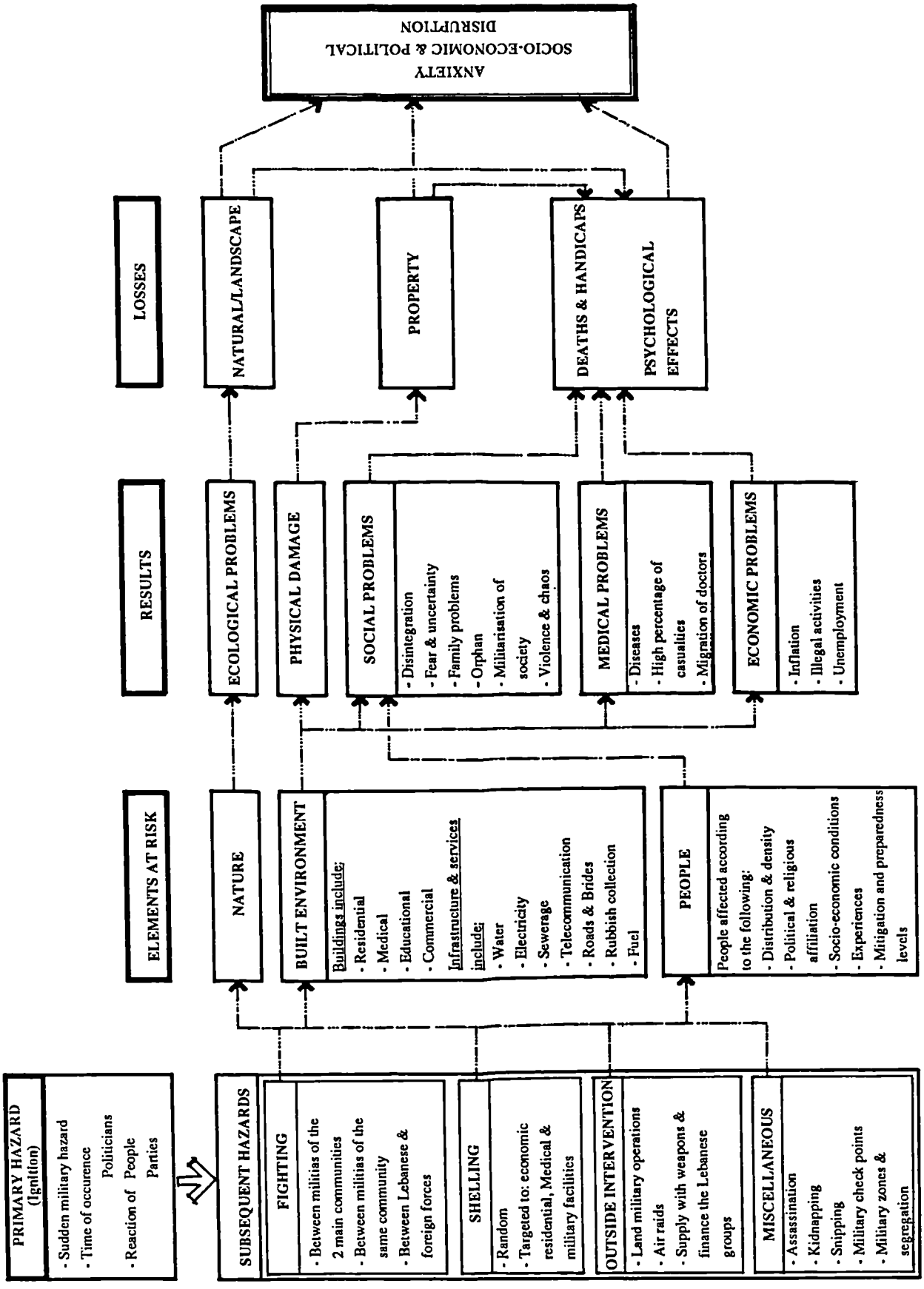


Fig. 2.5: A Model of Creation of Social and Economic Disruption in Case of Civil War in Lebanon.

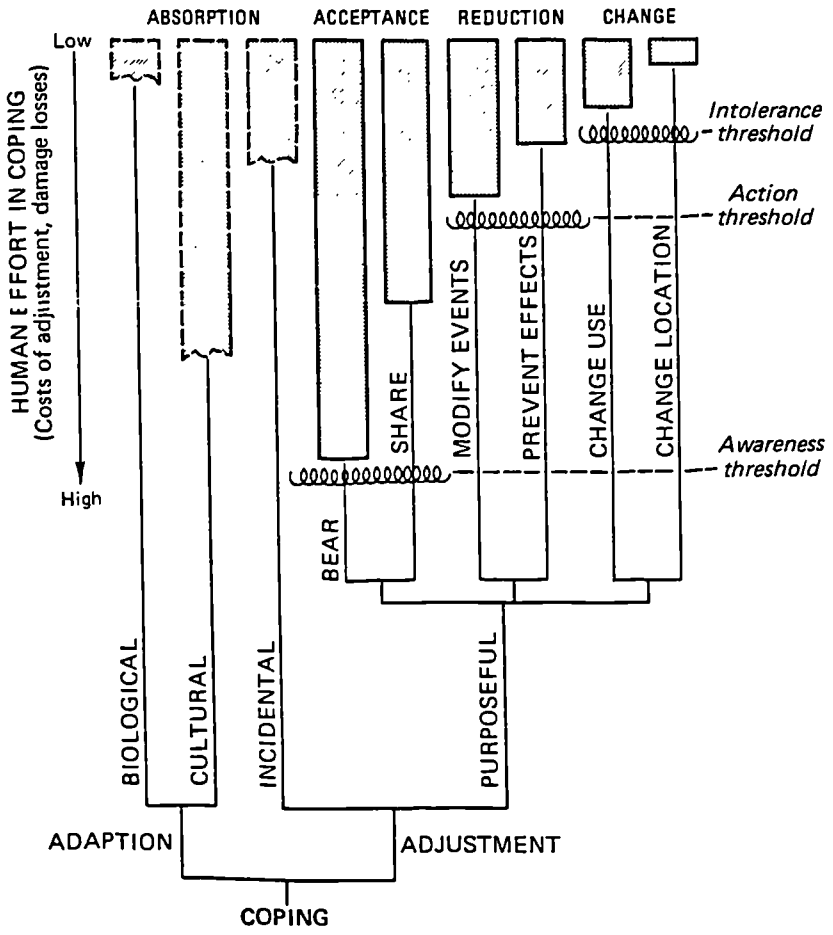
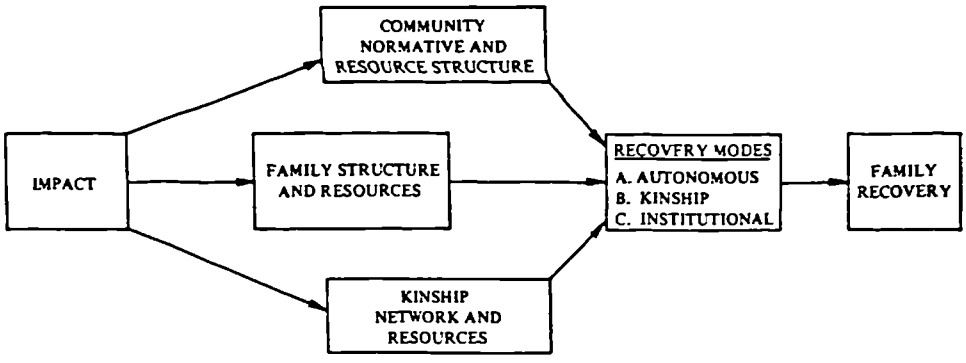


Fig. 2.6: Modes of Coping with Disasters.
Source: Burton et al., 1978: 205.



Note: Arrows indicate association between factors and do not imply direct causality.

Fig. 2.7: Conceptual Model of Family Recovery in Post-Disaster Situation.
Source: Bolin & Trainer, 1978: 205.

The time of recovery could be shortened by a comprehensive planning for reconstruction which should address four aspects:(1) emotional recovery of the victims, (2) economic recovery, (3) replacement of physical losses, (4) Replacement of opportunity (Cuny: 1983, 197-203). This implies that to accelerate recovery intervenors have to concentrate not only on providing shelters but on socio-economic measures as well. In this respect, three important aspects are needed to be understood. Firstly is the pre-disaster conditions; this involves family structure, economic patterns, governmental structure, established building processes, etc. Secondly is a deep insight into the positive and negative factors which can affect the time of recovery (Table 2.2). Thirdly is a clear perspective of the direct and indirect effects of the reconstruction programme in the short and long terms.

FACTORS SPEED RECOVERY	FACTORS SLOW RECOVERY
1. Risk of Secondary Disasters	1. Risk of Secondary Disasters
2. Clarity of Policy and Direction	2. Uncertainty Regarding Possible Relocation
3. Collective Motivation	3. Delayed Materials
4. Good Communications	4. Conflicting Expert Advice
5. Technical Assistance	5. Inflation and Market Instability
6. Cash Flow	6. Land Tenure Problems
7. Reuse of Salvaged Materials	7. Public Rejection of Plans
	8. Surveys
	9. Irrelevant Aid
	10. Bureaucracy

Table 2.2: Factors Affecting Recovery Time in Post-Disaster Situation.
Source: Cuny, 1983: 198-202.

2.5.4 RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS

After disaster, reconstruction needs to deal with displacement, damage to housing and infrastructures, economic problems, etc. In this sense, reconstruction should address the same issues regardless of the direct cause and the scale of damage.

> The practical work to be done is often the same, irrespective of the origin of the situation which created the need for humanitarian assistance.
>
> (Marshall, 1984: 9)

Three essential elements are required in any reconstruction programme: (1) social and political will, (2) economic and materials surplus, and (3) active population surplus (Nordlie, 1969). Moreover, five recurring dilemmas have been identified which are likely to be faced by planners and decision makers in post-disaster reconstruction; these dilemmas are as follows:

> To professionalize reconstruction or promote popular participation?
> To centralise or localise decision-making?
> To aim for fast or safe and well-constructed reconstruction?
> To conserve or replicate what existed before the tragedy or reform the urban environment?
> To emphasize physical reconstruction rather than non-physical, economic social cultural or administrative recovery/reconstruction?
>
> (Davis, 1987b: 3)

Davis proceeds further by comparing different issues of reconstruction after wars and natural disasters based on experiences and observations (Table 2.3). These issues discuss: policy and administration, relief and aid, pre-disaster planning, safety factors, timing, resources, and work regeneration.

Despite the similarities of post-disaster reconstruction, the process of reconstruction is considerably varied between fast and slow impact disasters. This is essentially related to the difference of the time scale of both types. In the case of natural disasters (fast impact), the reconstruction activities are a cyclical process of two overlapping phases: pre-disaster (mitigation and preparedness) and post-disaster (relief and rehabilitation) (Fig. 2.8). Humanitarian issues dominate the relief phase and penetrate that of preparedness. Economic issues tend to dominate rehabilitation, reconstruction and mitigation. In fact, one disaster should function as a future disaster mitigation.

	War	Natural Disaster
POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION	In war situations a total politicisation of all planning decison making is likely to occur.	This applies in major, well publicised disasters, but not in reconstruction after smaller events.
	Centralisation of decision making tends to occur in both war and natural disaster contexts, even when the normal pattern of decision taking is localised.	
INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE	In general this will conform to political allegiance - with help from allies. However the WW2 experience indicates that AFTER a war ends previous enemies may provide assistance (i.e. Marshall Plan for Europe from USA).	This follows normal patterns of development assistance. However in major disasters politically unsympathetic countries may provide support (i.e. US support to Ethiopia in current drought/ famine 1988).
PRE-DISASTER PLANNING/ PREPAREDNESS	This is politically sensitive. When there is a knownthreat it is possible to plan in advance, but the level or type of preparedness is likely to be politically determined rather than in response to any systematic process of risk-assessment.	This is not normally a political issue and is essential to reduce risks to lives and property.
SAFETY FACTORS	Deconcentration policies may be adopted to reduce bombing targets. However strategic decisions may prevail to INCREASE local population risks for the 'national interest' (i.e. repopulation of vulnerable border zones of Iran/Iraq or Israeli West Bank to reduce risk of subsequent rapid invasion).	A balanced mitigation policy can be adopted involving: - Byelaws/land use controls. - Cash subsidies. - Training and education. - Public risk awareness. - Governments providing the example of safe practice. - Adoption of safety measures in implementation.
TIMING OF RECONSTRUCTION	This will be controlled by political judgments. It may relate to the desire to provide a 'moral boost' to the public at a national level. Normally it has to await the cessation of hostilities.	Reconstruction has to await such matters as: - preparation of new plans. - reduction of seismic aftershocks. - drying out of soils after flooding.
RESOURCES	In all war situations there will be shortages of raw materials which pass to military sources for priority use.	They are normally available within the country - or can be requested from external donor bodies.
WORK GENERATION	In these situations there is a need to reflate a damaged economy by providing employment for: (a) ex-servicemen. (b) war or disaster wounded. (c) people who lost their source of livelihood in the war or disaster.	

Table 2.3: Comparison between Natural and War Disasters. Source: Davis, 1987b: ?.

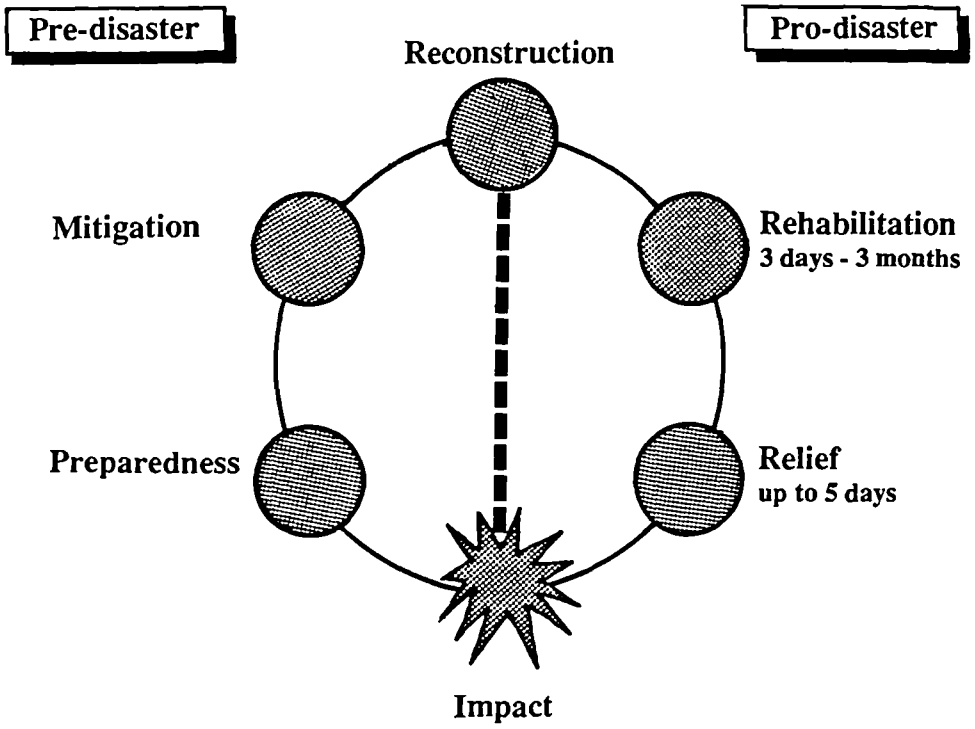


Fig. 2.8: The Cyclical Reconstruction Process in Case of Natural Disasters. Source: UNDRO, 1989: 20.

In the case of war disasters, the previous sequence is not the case because of the long term impact and the fluctuation of the situation. For example in the Lebanese context, the different activities of the reconstruction process have been taking place simultaneously and in parallel (Fig. 2.9).

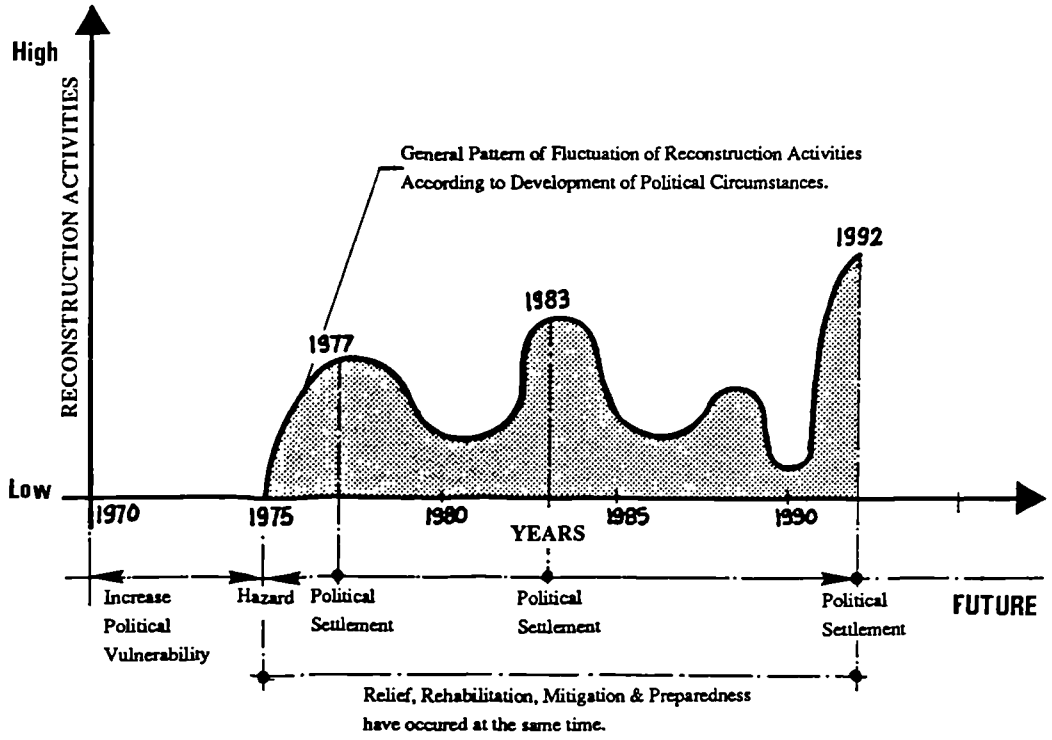


Fig. 2.9: In Case of War Disaster (Lebanon), Reconstruction is a Linear process.

Moreover, in natural disasters mitigation is directly related to causative aspects, which can be summarized by three points: modifying hazard, reducing vulnerability and changing the functional characteristics of settlements (UNDRO, 1989: 198). In war situations, mitigation lies essentially in the realm of politics (national, international), which makes it a more difficult task.

2.6 RECURRING PROBLEMS IN POST-DISASTER RECONSTRUCTION

Not so long ago, it was believed that housing provision after disaster could be solved provided that the economic, technical and delivery problems were solved; it is a logistic matter. This approach was inspired by emergency plans to help refugees and displaced people after World War II (Cuny, 1983:17-18). In fact, the recent International Union

of Architects' competition (Crisis Homes) is an illustration of this approach which concentrates only on speed, standardization, number of units built and technological aspects [10].

> ... hundreds of thousands of the homes could be stored in boxes at airports in the West, and flown out within hours of an earthquake or flood. The designs need to be simple so that the home can be assembled quickly by unskilled labour, but robust enough to last 10 years in extreme climates.
>
> (Building Design, No. 970, 1990: 1)

This conventional or top-down approach to housing provision after disaster is best discussed by Cuny (1981: 3). In an area inflicted by a disaster, the intervenors usually mobilize resources to alleviate the grief of the victims and rehouse them rapidly. Funds are raised in different ways and housing losses are estimated by quantitative methods in a chaotic situation. A simple mathematical technique, division of available funds by the number of houses damaged determines the investment per structure. Standardised dwelling plans are drawn, contracts are signed, and mass construction starts. The programme ends when the number of estimated houses has been built; or when, more usually, funds run out. The success of these programmes is measured in terms of speed, money spent and housing units built.

> This, of course, ignored the human and cultural factors that affect the acceptability of the new structures which are often supplied and erected by complete strangers. The organization of internal space, external form, use of materials and the relation of the house to the neighbours all carry symbolic cultural implications that vary from nation to nation and often from district to district within one nation.
>
> (Danby, 1985: 225)

Aysan and Oliver (1987), Cuny (1983) and Davis (1981), among others have discussed the common mistakes of the conventional reconstruction programmes. These mistakes occur on different levels and in different stages. One could classify these mistakes into five major areas with the emphasis on the interactions between these areas. This means that the occurrence of one mistake in one area is not only inclusive, but also affects negatively the others.

2.6.1 LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF DISASTER TYPES

Disaster is always seen as an extraordinary event which interrupts the normal ways of living and which requires high demand for housing. So pressure is to return to 'normal' as quickly as possible. Rehousing the victims and providing them with material relief items are considered to be the solution for their suffering.

Additionally, disasters present an opportunity for modernization especially in the so-called Third World Countries. It is an opportunity to get rid of the old and to rebuild the 'future city' or the 'typical village'. It is a 'golden' opportunity for the politicians, to launch 'ambitious' programmes; from "houses fit for heroes" in Britain between the two World Wars [11] to the rebuilding of Fao city (Iraq) in 114 days to represent the city of sacrifice and the gateway for great victory' after the Iran/Iraq war [12]. Similar attitudes of introducing changes and improvements were the focus in the reconstruction programme of Lice - Turkey. This could be illustrated in the words of an official responsible for the reconstruction programme.

> The old houses of Lice were primitive. The way the people kept their animals in and around their houses was unhygienic. The government sees its duties as developing the society more and more and we want them to advance. We want them to keep their animals all together in a communal field away from their home
>
> (Cavanagh & Johnson, 1976: 106)

Few attempts have been made to understand the complexity of a disaster and its impacts. Consequently, the victims and their coping mechanisms are ignored, and alien and expensive houses are introduced. In this way, the 'opportunity', which should be a means to rectify vulnerable conditions and to improve housing, is not seized. This indicates the failure of comprehension of reconstruction after disaster in the wider context of development.

2.6.2 MARGINALISATION OF THE VICTIMS

Top-down approaches to reconstruction are rarely attempted to identify the various coping mechanisms and their role in the culture within the affected community. This is the result of common myths about people victimized by disaster. These myths are the justification for paternalistic decision-making and action independent from the victims. Cuny (1983, 85-86) provides a discussion of these myths which are as follows:

- Victims are totally helpless.
- Disasters are situations that require outside assistance.
- Disasters wipe out indigenous coping mechanisms.
- Victims respond to disasters with abnormal behaviour.
- Grief traumatizes disaster victims to the point where they must be led into activities in order to save themselves.

Moreover, in many Third World Countries the most vulnerable victims are the poor people. These people are usually conceived by politicians as illiterate and ignorant. Therefore, disaster provides an opportunity to 'upgrade' their housing and social standards. In this perspective, intervenors act to alleviate suffering of 'helpless' people, and they perceive their plans as adequate and their responses as effective. This is clear in agencies' report of activities and often even in disaster manuals which provide clues of the perceptions governing the intervenors plans and actions: "A disaster is a catastrophic situation which the day-to-day patterns of life are in many instances suddenly disrupted and people are plunged into helplessness and suffering" (League of Red Cross Societies, 1976: 13)

This view of the helplessness of the victims is also reinforced by sensationalism in press coverage. While the media concentrates on the unusual events and on the suffering of the victims, pre-disaster conditions, community's coping mechanisms, and development

issues that cannot be photographed are ignored. For an example of this attitude, a reportage describes the situation in Beirut after bombardment as follows:

> Dogs howl and birds twitter; food shops are closed but flower shops are open. Children cry. Glass falls from broken windows. Rubble grinds underfoot ... There is, to all intents and purposes, no electricity, no water, no petrol. Schools are closed ... The city no longer bounces back to life the minute the shelling stops.
> (Flint, 1989: 3-4)

In a way this is the truth, but it is not a complete one. Because a process of adaptation and adjustment has been simultaneously taken place. Another type of life, with limited food and services, was taken place in the underground shelters.

Despite the good intention of this feeling towards the victims, this attitude has serious implications such as increasing the dependency of the victims and undermining the existing social mechanisms. While in the words of Ian Davis, people hit by disasters are "coping experts" [13]. This attitude of helplessness towards the victims inhibits a process of positive adjustment and development works. In this sense, intervenors should direct their attention to identify the social coping mechanisms in a culture and assist them instead of destroying them.

2.6.3 SIMPLIFICATION OF HOUSING ISSUES

A house provides more than a shelter. It is not simply to keep out wind and rain; it must provide the appropriate environment for a full life. It hold social and an economic values and expressions; it is a cultural expression of a complex process. Hence, top-down approaches to reconstruction, which reduce housing into figures and standards, oversimplify this complexity of housing . This create many negative implications; for instance in the case of:

> Turkey: "The result is that the people of Oren are faced with lower standard of housing that they were able of supplying themselves and an overwhelming debt which pre-empts any attempts they might make to extricate themselves from an industrially produced rural slum".
> (Krimgold, 1974: 53)

> India: "It remains to be seen, however whether the short-term contribution will outweigh the long-term problems which the programme has created.
>
> (Cuny, quoted in Ressler, 1981: 145)

Imported technologies which are favoured by foreign relief groups and 'ambitious' politicians for the sake of quick sheltering and modernization usually lead to housing which is culturally, physically and economically unacceptable (Fig. 2.10). Bottom-up approaches to reconstruction, which concentrate on economic regeneration and using of local skills and resources, have hardly been adopted because of the misconception about housing. The mistake lies in the assumption that the house can be treated as an artefact, devoid of social meanings and economic values. This suggests that reconstruction of the built environment needs to be evaluated with different criteria and suggests that the process may be as important as the final product.

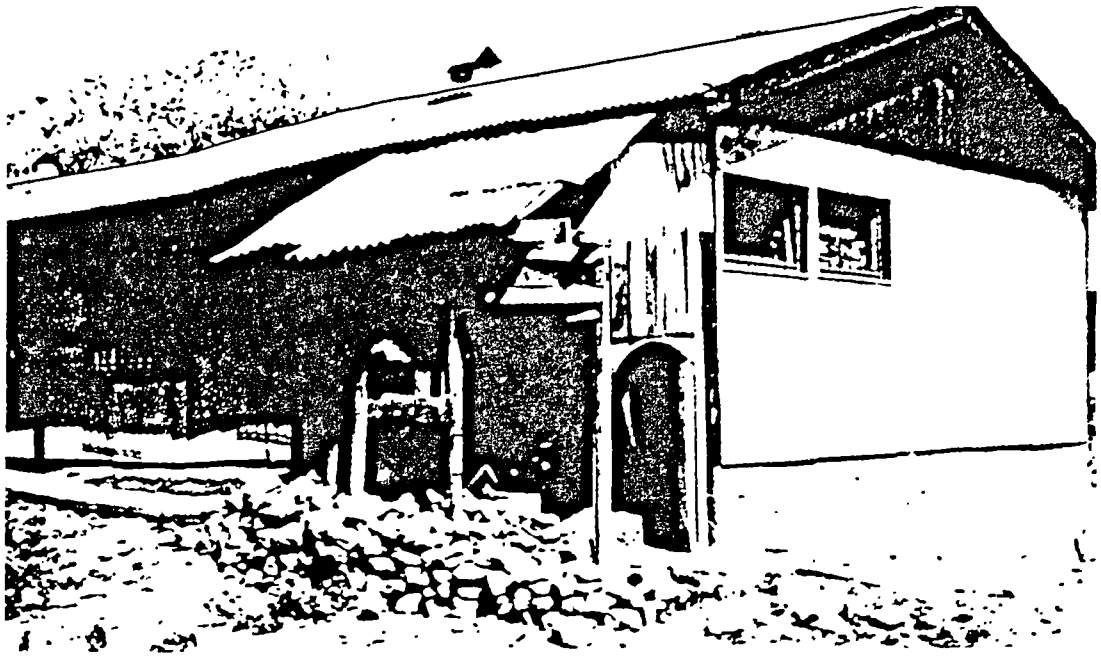
2.6.4 INADEQUATE RELIEF

Most relief groups and governments are interested in items which can be portrayed. They understand relief as an object with a label: food aid, medical aid, clothing aid and in the same way housing aid. The object provides visible images for the general public which can be used by *the donors for political and economic interests.*

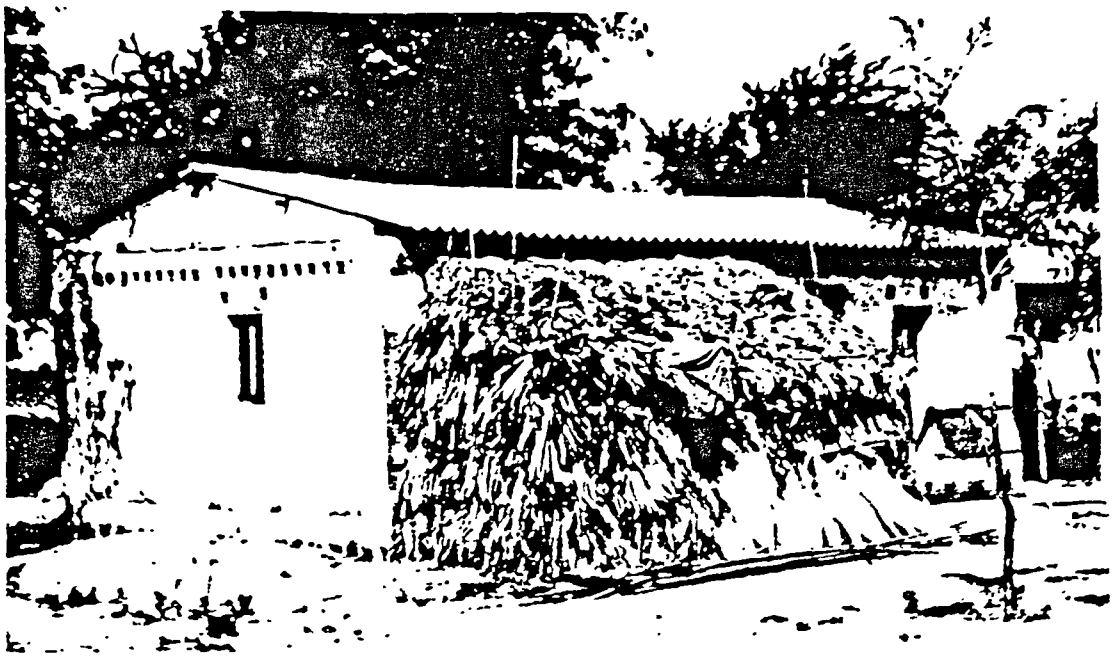
> Aid which can be easily portrayed in photographs, on film or television is particularly important for the public relations needs of the intervenor. Scenes of donations being made to representatives of the recipient community; of food being distributed to waiting lines of children; of medical staff giving injections to victims - all enhance saleability of the relief operations to the donor public.
>
> (Ressler, 1981: 146)

Cuny (1983: 89-100) and Ressler (1981, 145-149) discuss this common pitfall in agencies approach toward relief and aid which is characterised by the following negative aspects:

- exaggeration for social credit and publicity;
- accountability to the source of funds not to the people;



An addition to Government pre-fabricated housing in Lice Turkey. This housing was built without reference to the need for families to have their animals adjacent to their homes - hence the addition, which also provides weather protection for the doorway.



Housing in Andhara Pradesh built after a cyclone in 1968. When the roofs blew off in the 1977 cyclone the occupants moved into the lean-to-shelter - but despite roof replacement they prefer to remain in the 'shelter' it is climatically superior.

Fig. 2.10: Examples of Lack of Understanding of Social Context of Housing Reconstruction.
Source: Davis, 1981: 17-18.

- Relief is determined by the available resources not by what is needed.
- Competition and lack of co-operation between relief groups [14].
- Foreign relief for developing countries is a highly political issue - e.g. Nicaragua, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran.
- Evaluation of relief and aid programmes is lacking in most of them.

Destruction of the social coping mechanisms, creating dependency and rising expectation within the affected community are the consequences, among many others, of such paternalistic approach. For example, after the civil war and the independence of Bangladesh (1971), 20 million persons were displaced. Bangladesh was designated an 'international basket case' and millions of dollars were provided as material aid, food and technical assistance. The more aid comes to the country the more people recognized how helpless they were. There was common feeling dominating an entire culture that the situation is totally hopeless (Cuny, 1983: 95).

Finally, the bitter reality remains that aid (national and international) even if granted on a large scale, it is usually insignificant compared to the total volume of the damage after a disaster. Aid has only marginal effects on the rate of recovery for the majority of the affected population (Taylor, 1981). Moreover, in the long term and especially in developing countries, aid reinforced underdevelopment and marginalisation of the victims (Fig. 2.11). There has also been a steady growth of recognition that aid and reconstruction programmes should not be considered or carried out as separate or distinct operations. They must be dealt with as complementary development processes.

2.6.5 INADEQUATE ASSESSMENT OF VICTIMS' NEEDS

Assessment of victims' needs which is based on donors' self-interest and their available resources, and rapid rehousing and standardization, tends to ignore many important cultural and economic aspects of the dwelling. It treats housing as a quantifiable object. Therefore quantitative surveys, widely used for assessment in relief and reconstruction programmes, have mostly been ineffective and inappropriate (see Appendix 2.1).

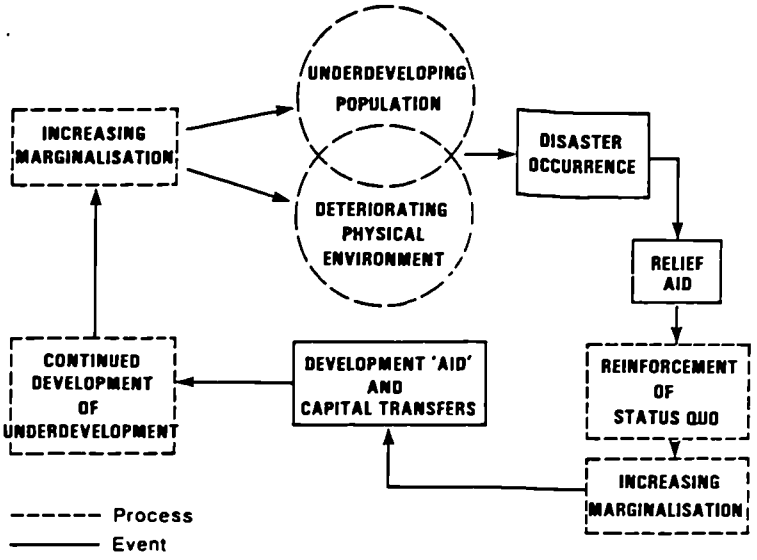


Fig. 2.11: The process of Marginalisation and Underdevelopment in Less Developing Countries as a Result of Relief.
Source: Smith, 1992: 44.

> The problem is not that surveys are not needed, but rather the type of data that is most appropriate and the method that should be used to obtain it ... The loss of this time can mean loss of resources and commitment that would be invaluable.
>
> (Cuny, 1983: 201)

UNDRO (1982) and Taylor (1981), among many others, have discussed the inadequacy of quantitative approach for assessment of victims needs. The inadequacy occurs in three areas. The first area is the lack of familiarity with the local conditions such as habits and culture, housing conditions and processes, and physical characteristics of the affected area. The second area is the weak management of assessment which involves the lack of definition of the objectives of assessment and the lack of co-ordination between intervenors and victims. The third area is the inappropriate techniques of assessment due to quantification of needs and to the indifference between 'needs' and 'wants'.

> Quantification is useful and may be necessary at a later stage when the needs have been hypothesized, but overenthusiasm for the questionnaire as a tool often obscures rather than enlightens a situation.
>
> (Taylor, 1981: 139)

However, counting the number of houses damaged and families affected in chaotic conditions usually lead to over-estimation of aid needed. Taylor (1981, 137-144) attributes this exaggeration to the following issues:

- People tend to request too much in order to have enough or they tend to exaggerate the situation of their needs in relation to what they believe in actually to be.

- Cumulative overestimates occur at each level in the hierarchy through which the information passes - neighbourhood, village, town, region, etc.

- Politicians tend to magnify the situation for the sake of their political advantage. In addition, organizations involved incline sometimes to exaggerate under the pressure of competition and publicity.

It is becoming increasingly clear that assessment in post disaster situations should not only count things, but it should define priorities, opportunities, problems and alternatives. It should be based on active discussions with the victims in order to have a clear and deep insight into their conditions before and after the disaster.

2.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has focussed on the conceptual understanding of issues related to reconstruction after war. These issues which were developed by comparison with natural disasters are: degree of severity, disruption model, modes of coping, and reconstruction process. It has been demonstrated that disaster is a very complex process and requires a careful examination to the uniqueness of its context. It has been also shown that the impacts of disaster do affect the built environment as well as socio-economic conditions of the victims whom do response in different ways: individual, community, organizational and societal.

It was against this understanding of complexity and dynamically of the conditions in a disaster situation that the top-down approaches to reconstruction have been examined. Approaches to reconstruction based on the intervenors' perceptions of what should be done and how it should be done, in isolation from the victims, have proved to be unsuccessful. The failures are not only in the waste of scarce resources and the inability to meet people's needs in terms of quality and quantity, but also in destroying the social coping mechanisms and in creating dependency within the affected community.

Detailed review of practical experiences of reconstruction after disaster could be helpful in illuminating the issues and common mistakes already discussed. This will be achieved by two case studies; the first is of Algeria after al-Asnam earthquake in 1981, the second is of Iran after the Iran/Iraq war between 1981-1988. It is the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

NB: For full details about the studies mentioned here see references.

[1] **Failure of reconstruction projects:** refer to: Barakat (1989 & 1990), Cuny (1983), Davis (ed) (1981), UNDRO (1982).

[2] **Low-income housing:** refer to Fathy (1973), McAuslan (1985), Skinner & Rodell (1983), Turner (1976). Despite the urgency of the situation, reconstruction after disaster has to deal with issues and problems of housing which are similar to the ones under normal circumstances.

[3] **Research interests in post-war reconstruction:** the following events (conferences, workshops) illustrate this growing interest:
Beirut of Tomorrow: Planning for Reconstruction, Beirut (1983).
International Conference Reconstruction of the War-Damaged Areas, Tehran (1986 & 1991).
Workshop on Post-War Settlement Reconstruction, York (*1988, 1989 & 1991*)

[4] **Wide range of disaster studies:** Classifying studies which concentrate on specific issues could be illustrated by the following;
Cultural aspects: El-Masri (1989), Leivesly (1981), Oliver (1981), , .
Health, and Sociological and Physiological aspects: Seaman (1981), River & Brown (1981), Quarantelli (ed) (1978), Lauchlin & Brady (1978), Orner (1988), Stewart (1988), Rachlin (1991).
Media coverage: Caldwell et al. (1981)
Assessment of victims needs: El-Masri (1991), Ressler (1981), Taylor (1981).
Political and aid issues: Bommer (1985), Davis, M (1981), Kent (1987), Riding (1977), Taylor (1978).

[5] **Access to war prone areas:** for this study, the field work, in one of the war-damaged villages in Lebanon, was postponed twice due to the escalating of military activities.

[6] **Naturalness of Disaster:** for discussion and details about the concept of taking the nature out of disasters refer to the following: Cuny (1981), Davis (1987a), UNDRO (1982), Wijikman & Timberlake (1984).

[7] **Arms trade:** For more details about arms trade and its effect on 3rd World countries refer to: Barnaby (1987), Brandt (1980), Deger (1987), Kidron & Smith (1991), Sampson (1980), Shepherd (1975).

[8] **War is the ancestor of all disasters:** I am indebted for this expression to Zargar (1988: 4).

[9] **Differences of Disasters impacts:** Cuny (1983, 14) writes: "Consider the earthquake that struck San Fernando, California, in 1971. The quake registered 6.4 on the Richter Scale. Yet San Fernando, with a population of over seven million, suffered only minor damage and fifty-eight deaths .... Two years later, an earthquake of a magnitude of 6.2 stuck Managua, Nicaragua, and reduced the center of the city to rubble, killing an estimated six thousand people. What was the difference between the two locations that caused such a disparity and made one an "earthquake," while the other was a "disaster"? To oversimplify, the answer is the different level of development in the two cities.

[10] **Critics to "Crisis Homes" competition:** refer to Aysan and Davis, and Lewis in Building Design (No. 973, Feb.16, 1990).

[11] **Reconstruction in Britain after 2nd WW:** refer to: Berry (1974), Donnison (1967), Short (1987).

[12] **Reconstruction in Iraq:** see Barakat (1989) reconstruction of Basrah and (1990) reconstruction of Fao after the Iran/Iraq war.

[13] **Victims are 'coping experts':** this was mentioned in Cuny (1983: 141).

[14] **Lack of co-ordination between agencies:** this is exemplified in the case of Guatemala (earthquake, 1976). One agency adopted to foster self-reliance and to improve community process. Roofing materials (Lamina) was provided at a subsidized price; more people could be served and no one was given charity. In adjoining area, other agency, began to offer Lamina free and in some cases free houses also. People who had originally purchased the Lamina began to complain and the trust in the agency was affected (Cuny, 1983: 96-97).

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CHAPTER THREE:

EXPERIENCES OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER DISASTER

CHAPTER 3: EXPERIENCES OF RECONSTRUCTION AFTER DISASTER

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a discussion of two practical experiences of reconstruction after disaster. Its main aim is to probe into the conceptual issues and the common problems of reconstruction after a disaster, discussed in the previous chapter, as they manifest themselves in reality. The first is the case of reconstruction in Algeria after the al-Asnam earthquake of 1980. The second is that of reconstruction in Iran after the eight-year war with Iraq (1981-1988). In discussing these two cases, references will also be made to other experiences such as Turkey and Iraq as relevant.

This chapter is essentially based on secondary information about the cases concerned, except in the case of Iran where a visit to damaged areas, informal discussions (officials and people) and observation are employed in addition to documentary evidence [1]. The selection of these cases was based on the relative availability of literature in comparison with most other cases. However, it is also noteworthy that the effects after earthquake and war disasters are similar in terms of damage and social disruption (Davis, 1987b). This makes the Algerian case study appropriate for discussion.

3.2 THE ALGERIAN EXPERIENCE

3.2.1 BACKGROUND

The discussion of this case is based on the study of Hireche (1987) in addition to other complementary sources. The study is an analysis and evaluation of the post disaster reconstruction programme employed in al-Asnam city, renamed Ech-Cheliff [2], after the 1980 earthquake. The methodology of Hireche was based on a combination of methods. Informal interviews with local officials and analysis of relevant documents were used to

evaluate the overall performance of the reconstruction programme. Observation and questionnaire interviews (80 households of 7.3 persons/household) were also employed to evaluate the performance of reconstructed dwellings from the recipients' point of view. So, the study is limited to 80 households which may be considered a small sample compared with the 100,000 homeless from Ech-Cheliff city only. It is, however, an important contribution to the field given the scarcity of literature about this type of inquiry.

3.2.1.1 LOCATION

The Ech-Cheliff province consists of six districts and its capital is Ech-Cheliff city. The province is located about 150 km west of the capital Algiers (Fig. 3.1). It has an area of 8,761 km^2 with a population of 836,665 (1977 census), mainly engaged in agriculture (43,3%). The area of Ech-Cheliff is situated in an active seismic zone. At least four significant earthquakes of different magnitudes have shaken this area during the last sixty years namely 1922, 1934, 1954, 1980. The latter was on Friday 10 October 1980 when an earthquake of a magnitude 7.3 on the Richter scale hit the area. As a result, Ech-Cheliff city and nine other neighbouring towns were reduced to rubble. It affected 8,000 km^2 with extreme destructive effects in the capital, killing 2,600 people, injuring 8,300 others and destroying or seriously disrupting two thirds of the city. Moreover, 500,000 persons lost their homes and were left homeless [3].

3.2.1.2 RECOVERY PROCESS

On the 16th of the same month, a high inter-ministerial commission was set up to follow up the three stages of the recovery process: emergency, restoration and reconstruction (for details of the first two phases see Appendices 3.1 & 3.2). In term of reconstruction, the first house was occupied on 4/2/1981 and the completion of 20,000 dwellings was achieved by January 1982. The education facilities were not finished until July 1982. This means that within less than two years after the disaster the city was rebuilt.

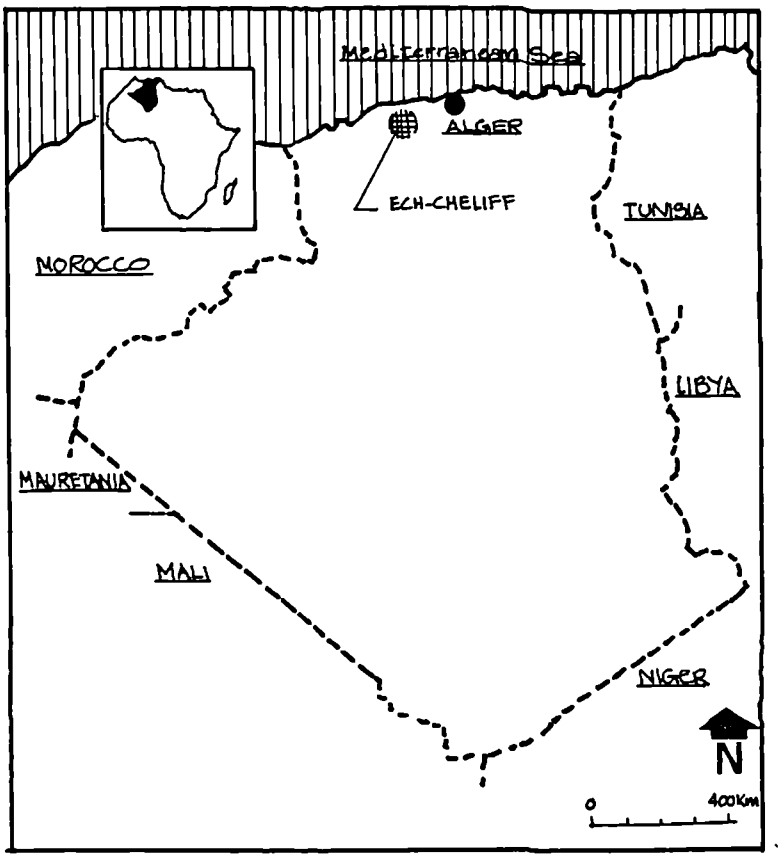


Fig. 3.1: Location of Ech-Cheliff (Algeria).

This might be considered as an achievement when compared to the theoretical model which proposed three years time (Hass et al., 1977) [4]. The factors affected the speed of the recovery process in Ech-Cheliff could be attributed to:

- clarity of policy and direction;
- high degree of collective motivation;
- use of prefabricated techniques;
- appropriate transportation networks and the existence of an airport near the affected area; and
- resource availability; $2,500 million were spent on the first two phases and $700 million on the reconstruction works. This was made possible with the high revenues from the oil industries during the eighties.

Despite the impressive achievement, the rapid reconstruction programme was based on many mistaken assumptions and has had many shortcomings and negative effects. To evaluate this programme, a review of its objectives would be a necessary task.

3.2.1.3 RECONSTRUCTION POLICY

From the outset of the crisis, a decision was taken to rebuild Ech-Cheliff emphasizing rapid reconstruction and safety requirements. In the first two weeks after the disaster, new sites were selected and prefabricated technology was adopted to rebuild the city. The construction of the 20,000 prefabricated dwellings was also commissioned to 24 foreign contractors. Similar to many past experiences of reconstruction after disaster, the aim of the reconstruction of Ech-Cheliff was to rebuild a better and safer settlement [3]. A wide range of objectives was announced to guide the reconstruction programme:

- to rehouse people quickly by using prefabricated technology;
- to reconstruct the city at low density to make it safer;
- to avoid vulnerable sites and to secure earthquake safety measures;

- to avoid the use of agricultural land for rebuilding with preference to land under governmental control; and
- to stop the growth of cities and towns situated within the disaster prone area, and to control any possible migration that is likely to develop from the reconstruction programme.

Consequently, the reconstructed city has three main characteristics which are direct results of the adopted policy. Moreover, these characteristics are the outcomes of many indirect and interrelated factors, such as assumptions, pre-disaster trends, and documentation and resource availability, which shaped and influenced this policy. The characteristics are:

- It is now formed of seven sites separated from each other.
- Reconstruction relied entirely on the use of light prefabricated technique.
- It has developed some distance from the previous site with low density in the form of individual dwellings.

3.2.2 EVALUATION

Evaluation is carried out when the project has taken form on site. This type of inquiry aims to improve efficiency and to identify reasons for success or failure, or to test a hypothesis or a professional practice principle (Rossi, 1979). However, the achievements of a project should not only be evaluated in terms of meeting programme objectives and principles, which may sound in the first instance reasonable, but should be viewed, as well, in terms of long term impacts and outcomes.

The achievements of the reconstruction programme in Ech-Cheliff city might be considered satisfactory in term of rapidity in rehousing the homeless people. By January 1982, no one was living in a tent; this means that in less than two years nearly 100,000 persons, from Ech-Cheliff city, were rehoused. In terms of implementation, 29 building

contracts were signed with 24 foreign companies specialized in light prefabrication. However, only 8 projects were finished on time; ten others were involved in delays not exceeding one month and the 11 remaining sites experienced delays varying between one to 12 months (D.U.C.H, cited in Hireche 1987: 76). In general, delays can be attributed to two reasons. First, delays were caused by local public agencies in preparing the site and the foundations for the prefabricated houses. This was due to the lack of experience of such large projects and lack of coordination with foreign companies in terms of specifications. Second, delays were caused by some foreign companies in fulfilling their commitments. Apart from the delays which resulted from the shipment of prefab components, the delays caused by contractors could be attributed to their overestimation of their capability under the pressure of high competition between the different companies.

With regard to the reconstruction of public facilities, which was the second phase, no major delays were observed. This achievement may be explained by the fact that foreign companies became accustomed to the conditions of the area. It might also be the result of increasing experience of local agencies and local officials from earlier phases.

Despite the delays in completing some of the reconstructed housing projects, the overall performance in term of time scale is impressive. This means that the programme met its first objective. But the rapid reconstruction and rehousing programmes have had many negative results as identified by Hireche (1987, 76-88).

3.2.2.1 OVERESTIMATION

After the earthquake, houses in the old city were classified under three categories; Green for safe buildings, Orange for houses suitable for habitation after repairs, and Red for unsafe houses which needed to be demolished. As a result of the rapid reconstruction policy, rehousing was carried out much earlier than any subsequent repairs were made on the damaged houses. The inhabitants, living in dwellings classified Orange and Red, were

similarly treated as homeless and offered dwellings in the new reconstructed city. It is possible therefore, that some people were offered a prefabricated dwelling in addition to their original home. Overestimation of the houses needed could be illustrated in the following facts:

- In the old city, 60% of the houses classified suitable for habitation after repairs were occupied in 1985.
- In the province, 3,500 houses were vacant in 1985 which was believed to encourage internal migration to the area.
- Before 1980, the occupancy rate was estimated to be 2.9 persons per room. After the reconstruction programme, the occupancy rate dropped to 1.9 persons per room.

3.2.2.2 GROWTH AND MIGRATION

In the pre-disaster period, Ech-Cheliff city occupied an area of 920 hectares with about 80,000 inhabitants. After the reconstruction programme, the city covers an area of 2,790 hectares (urbanized area) for a population of 103,000 persons. Therefore, the density changed from 87 persons per hectare in 1980 to less than 37 persons per hectare in 1985. This low density however is causing higher costs for maintenance and servicing the city.

Furthermore, low density has negative implications concerning the fourth objective which is to avoid development on agricultural land. It was estimated that 490 hectares of high quality land have been included within the limits of the city. Agricultural land situated between the separate sites is unlikely to resist the pressure of future population growth and urbanization. However, locating the reconstructed dwellings on new separate sites proved to be wrong. The seismic microzonation study of the old site completed by the end of 1984 showed that the site was not located on an underground earthquake fault as it was assumed [6].

The programme also failed to meet the fifth objective in stopping and controlling the growth of the city. The urbanised area of the city, as we have seen, has increased from 920 hectares to 2790 hectares and the total area was estimated of 3810 hectares; nearly four times the original area. Also the housing stock has increased from 11,000 units in the pre-disaster period to 21,030 in 1985. While migration to the city was estimated in the ratio of 1.1% (1.1 migrants to every 100 inhabitants) before the disaster, it reached 3% in 1987. Instead of controlling migration and the growth of the city, the development of facilities and availability of dwellings have encouraged more people to move in. The programme has acted, with its high standards and services, as a magnet for people from other smaller towns and villages which lack basic amenities and facilities.

3.2.2.3 PERFORMANCE OF THE HOUSES

Hireche's evaluation of the dwelling unit shows that imported prefabricated dwellings, designed according to specifications of the manufacturers' own country of origin, have proved to be unsuccessful in many aspects. The same conclusion was found in the case of Lice, in Eastern Turkey, which was destroyed by the 1975 earthquake.

> ... the success of post disaster reconstruction in places like Lice depends on more than bricks and mortar alone. In the race to bring relief to a disaster situation governments and foreign agencies might benefit from stopping to consider the forces which hold together human communities. The need is not merely to provide homes, but homes of a *specific type* in which the survivors can continue to pursue their traditional way of life.
> (Cavanagh & Johnson, 1976: 106)

In the case of Algeria, the survey has also shown that living conditions did not improve as much as might have been superficially anticipated, with the new houses often paradoxically representing a deterioration in standards and comfort. The reconstructed dwellings have caused, as discussed by Hireche, many interrelated problems which are related to technological, climatic discomfort, social and economic. These will now be discussed in detail.

3.2.2.3.1 TECHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The survey clearly shows that the reconstructed dwellings have been facing serious deterioration problems which could reduce the life expectancy of the dwelling set up by the manufacturers. Despite the fact that the life expectancy of the dwelling, which varied from 10 to 20 years according to the specification of the manufacturers, was generally far less than the international recommended standards (50 years) (C.I.B., cited in Hireche, 1987: 90). Three main factors have been responsible for causing deterioration and reducing the durability of the reconstructed dwellings. The first factor is the large Algerian family size; according to 1977 census the average family size is (7-8) in contrast to European one (2-4 average). The second factor is the fragility of the light weight components; 67% of the sample found difficulties with these components which do not respond to the local life styles in cooking and cleaning, and to the harsh climatic conditions of the area. The third factor is the problems of maintenance and the availability of spare prefabricated components. According to the agency responsible for maintenance, the number of repairs was estimated to be between 2500 to 3000 operations a year [7]. This implies that nearly one fifth of the reconstructed dwellings will need maintenance operations in the next few years.

Furthermore, a high risk of fire was identified as a result of high combustibility of the panels, tiling (PVC) and insulation used, the aridity of the climate and the use of bottle gas for cooking. However, the variety of types of the prefabricated unit used (24 types) and the lack of spare units were identified as major problems which cause a dependency on the foreign manufacturers. Moreover, 70% of the sample have carried out major alterations and repair works to their houses without applying for planning permission. This means that the houses which were rebuilt to resist future hazards could be made vulnerable by such modifications as a result of lack of earthquake resistance standards.

3.2.2.3.2 CLIMATIC DISCOMFORT

Hireche's survey shows that 93.8% of the people interviewed expressed their dissatisfaction in terms of climatic comfort; "hot in summer and cold in winter" was a common expression. 39.2% of the sample (1986) have air conditioners in contrast to 2.5% in the pre-disaster period. The problem of discomfort is not only the result of the poor performance of insulation. But poor housing layout, lack of natural ventilation, and the size and direction of the openings were among the reasons for the failure of the design to respond to the climatic conditions of the area. To support this argument, Hireche (1987: 99) used a computer simulation to identify, theoretically, outdoor and indoor temperatures for one of the prefabricated dwelling types. The exercise showed that on 22 June the average temperature is 37.27° C for indoor and 35° C for outdoor. However, recording these temperatures on sites, for the same day, reached 46.5° C for indoor and 42° C for exterior. It is clear that these types of houses have failed to provide suitable conditions.

3.2.2.3.3 SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The introduction of new types of houses alien to the cultural pattern has generated many social problems. According to the majority of residents, in the new houses, windows remain shuttered and closed most of the day given the cultural attitudes favouring privacy. Moreover, no intimate outside space is available on which the windows could be opened or where the family could gather in accordance with the local common practice. These two main problems have commonly generated social unacceptance of the dwellings and have been the reasons for building boundary walls around the dwellings later on.

The inappropriateness of the new houses is suggested by the evidence of their frequent modification by their occupants, despite such alterations technically being forbidden. 16% of the sample have built toilets outside the house because a toilet inside is not considered good practice. And 30% of the families have already built another kitchen on the outside.

This could be explained in two ways; the first is the kitchen area (8 m^2) which was judged too small to accommodate the large family size (average 7.3). In this region, the kitchen is not used only for cooking but also for eating and family gathering. The second reason is to reduce the overheating within the house from cooking activities.

Furthermore, the appearance of the prefabricated dwellings was commonly criticized by the interviewed households. This is mainly related to the issue of uniformity and the lack of character.

> The consumer is notoriously reluctant to accept new forms of his dwelling. He does not want his house to look precisely like other houses in the neighbourhood either.
>
> (Mayerson, quoted in Hireche, 1987: 103)

Also, as a result of the lightness of the house components and their "temporary" appearance, dwellings have been referred to as "Barraques" instead of homes. "Barraque" is the local word for wooden shelters that are usually erected in squatter settlements. This strange appellation can be better understood on the light of the following quotation:

> Satisfying activity requirements is one step toward creating more rewarding and habitable environments, but people are concerned about how things look as well as how they work, and often they cannot separate the two.
>
> (Becker, 1977: ix)

As far as social interaction is concerned, 63.7% of the sample visited their relatives less frequently than before. The reason for this is the random redistribution of the related families in different remote sites and the inefficiency of the transport facilities. For instance, 72% of the sample did not know their immediate neighbours before they moved in. Therefore, 45% of the residents were estimated to have less interaction with their new neighbours than before after six years. Moreover, the priority on rapid rehousing contributed to the lack of comprehensive planning in locating communal facilities. Serious difficulties have also been documented in getting access to the facilities. The highest inconveniences have been experienced in the purchasing of every day goods.

3.2.2.3.4 ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Under the pressure to rehouse the victims quickly, the tenure situation (rent and payment agreement) was not fixed until the end of 1984, nearly three years after the people moved into the new houses. The rent of the new dwelling was fixed at around 200 Algerian Dinars (A D) a month (£33), nearly 1/6 of the minimum wage. The interviewed households have shown their dissatisfaction concerning this matter. This could be explained in the light of the following results:

- 14% of the sample originally were owner occupiers whose properties were destroyed by the earthquake. They expected that to be exempt from paying rent as a kind of governmental compensation.
- Previously a monthly rent of 50 Algerian Dinars (£8) was common. This means that the tenants were asked to pay four times more.
- The residents found themselves suddenly urged to pay three years of accumulated rent. Furthermore, no comprehensive schedule of payment in instalments was planned by the local authorities.

As far as maintenance costs are concerned no clear plan of duties and rights for the local authorities and residents has been drawn up. The cost of maintenance has been estimated to be between (A D 2545-3030; £420- 500) a year for which the residents were expected to contribute a major share, but undefined. Another important problem is the transportation system. Resettlement of the population in the new sites has generated difficulties of access to work and other facilities in the old city or in the neighbouring areas. Moreover, 72% of the residents had serious difficulties in getting to work (Moulfi, cited in Hireche, 1987: 107). Some illegal activities were also documented by Hireche (1987: 116). For instance, some families moved back to their original dwellings and rented their new houses to other families as a way to generate a second source of income. In other cases the head of the family went back to the original house and left the new one for one of his married children.

Despite the dissatisfaction and the varied problems expressed by the people towards their new built environment, unexpected results have emerged when the residents were asked whether they would rather: (1) have their previous house rebuilt to its original form and standard, or (2) benefit from a site and services scheme, or (3) keep their present dwelling in the reconstructed settlements. 60% of the residents expressed a preference for the third option. Such unexpected result could be better explained with reference to the original housing conditions:

- lack of amenities and basic facilities were common for the majority;
- 37% of the respondents were living in shared accommodation; and
- 86.1% were living in poor standards of public housing buildings (high rise) or in temporary post disaster housing from 1954.

The new houses, thus, compared favourably with the dilapidated, overcrowded and poorly serviced old dwellings. However, Hireche (1987, 116-118) mentions that two variables are important in this respect which are age group and family size. The younger and smaller families were more prepared to change their environment and have more capabilities for adjustments than older and well established large families. Nevertheless, the fact that these houses have been preferred sometimes to pre-disaster housing or to self-help programmes, did not prevent the users from being critical towards the poor performance of the new houses.

3.2.3 DISCUSSION OF THE ALGERIAN EXPERIENCE

The above discussion shows that the reconstruction programme hastily implemented in Ech-Cheliff has failed to appreciate that house design is an integral part of a cultural pattern. Instead, it has reduced the idea of habitation into numbers and units which has proved to be a failure in may aspects. Furthermore, the case study shows that the good will of the government and the generous resources invested could have more positive results if the houses were tailored to the requirements and needs of the users. Hence, it is becoming

increasingly clear that top-down approaches of reconstruction after disaster should be replaced by appropriate processes. Such processes should be founded on full and active cooperation between the parties involved (people, professionals and politicians) in order to enhance the victims' recovery process, to maximize the use of available resources, and to integrate reconstruction within the framework of development.

3.3 THE IRANIAN EXPERIENCE

3.3.1 BACKGROUND

In this part, the case study focuses on the reconstruction activities in Khuzestan province and Isfahan city in Iran. A detailed examination of the reconstruction programme of one damaged settlement was not feasible due to the lack of detailed documentation similar to the Algerian case study. Nevertheless, the case study attempts to highlight a variety of important issues of reconstruction as they could be observed during the organized visit to the damaged areas (Fig. 3.2) and as they have been discussed by Iranian officials (see Note [1]). The case study attempts to identify the gap between the theoretical interpretations and the socio-economic realities, and between aspirations and constraints. It examines why reasonable and objective concepts, which appear appropriate in the plans, prove to be inappropriate in practice and fail the test of application.

This examination is also supported by many different studies on reconstruction in Iran which approach it from different view points and perspectives, based on varying theoretical inclinations and research interests. For instance, Mofid (1990) deals with economic reconstruction; Amirahmadi (1987, 1990) focuses on the planning and organizational structure of reconstruction; Parsa (1988, 1989) studies the relationships between the building industry and reconstruction. Others such as Pour (1988, 1989) concentrate on the issues of public participation, while Zargar (1988, 1989) highlights the relationships between reconstruction and development.

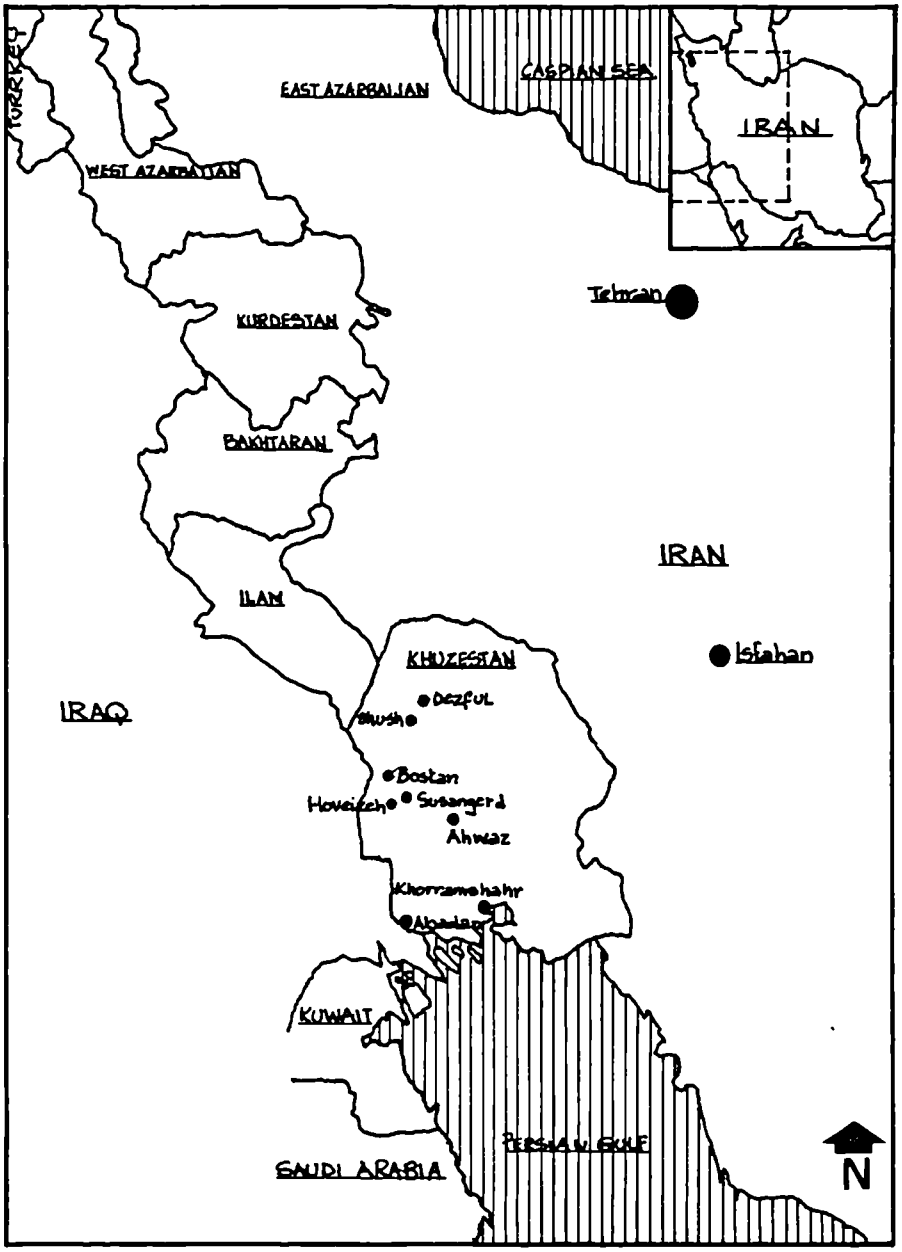


Fig. 3.2: Locations of Major Cities and Towns Visited in Iran.

3.3.1.1 WAR AND DESTRUCTION

The eight years of war between Iran and Iraq came to an end in 20 August 1988 when Iran agreed to a cease-fire under UN Security Council Resolution 598. The destruction caused by the war, in both countries, has been gigantic. Mofid (1990: 53) estimates that the economic cost direct, indirect and opportunity cost of the war to Iran is $644 billion and to Iraq $452.6 billion [8].

> The cost of the war exceeds the total oil revenue which Iran and Iraq have received throughout this century. From 1919 to July 1988 in the case of Iran, and from 1931 to July 1988 in the case of Iraq, the joint oil revenue earned totalled $418.5 billion: the cost of the war already exceeded by $678.5 billion the entire revenue from oil ever since the two countries started to sell it on the world market.
>
> (Mofid, 1990: 53)

In Iran, the destruction and the cost of the war has been enormous and beyond imagination. The "unbelievable" reality was described by the President:

> the extent of damage ... was so extensive that even to us the estimates seem exaggerated. These figures are astronomical and hard to imagine for a developing country.
>
> (Kayhan Havai, 1991, No 914: 31)

The five provinces along the border with Iraq - Khuzestan, Ilam, Bakhtaran, Kurdestan, and West Azarbaijan - have been the field for intensive military operations. Khuzestan, in particular, has been a strategic target as the oil capital of Iran and centre to important economic activities including port facilities, steel factories, oil refineries and petrochemical complexes. The area of the five provinces accounts to 178,000 km^2, 10.8% of the country's total. In 1980, at the beginning of the war, some 6.3 million persons (about 16.7% of the country's population) lived in these provinces. The region was more populated than any other parts of the country; 35.4 persons/km^2 comparing to a national average of about 23.2. The majority of the people of these provinces are ethnic minorities: Azaris, Kurds and Arabs (Amirahmadi, 1990: 27).

A total of fifty-two cities have been damaged. Of these, six cities have been completely razed to the ground and another fifteen have sustained 30-80 per cent destruction. For instance, the city of Khorramshahr, the most important Iranian port on the Gulf and home of some 300,000 people in 1980, was turned into a ghost town (Amirahmadi, 1990: 29). Destruction to rural areas has been even more devastating. Well over 30% of the villages in the five provinces (some of 4,000 settlements) have been completely destroyed and many more have been inflicted with heavy damage. In Khuzestan, 315 villages with 25,000 houses were destroyed or substantially damaged (Zargar, 1988: 28). Other provinces adjoining the war zones and major cities in different parts of the country, like Tehran and Isfahan, have also suffered substantial damage and destruction particularly from missile attacks. The total figure of damage to human settlements is estimated to be around $18 billion (Amirahmadi, 1990: 29).

3.3.1.2 RECONSTRUCTION: STRATEGY AND PRINCIPLES

Reconstruction issues were discussed immediately after the beginning of the war and preparations were made for making safe the devastated areas, in order to encourage the inhabitants to return to their original towns and villages. Parsa (1988: 3) summarizes the Government's reconstruction principles as follows:

- maximum mobilization of human resources throughout the country;
- reliance on the victims' participation during reconstruction;
- proper coordination of all groups and agencies involved in the reconstruction process;
- maximum utilisation of scare resources, both materials and machinery; and
- special attention should be paid to the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the victims during reconstruction, specially for the people of rural background.

After the end of the war, the reconstruction strategy was to be seen in the framework of the general development of the country. In this framework, urgent measures should be employed to provide a level of welfare responding to people's expectations and to improve

their conditions. The principles above mentioned, have remained in application as the strategy stresses the needs of the people's participation, on the use of local building materials; and on the respect of cultural and traditional characteristics of the victims (Pour, 1989: 3-4). This reconstruction strategy was described by an Iranian high official as follows:

> The main objectives of the government in the reconstruction program for the war-damaged areas are the reconstruction and renovation of the environment, structures of houses in the cities and villages damaged in the war, as soon as possible and within the framework of popular and national capabilities with a view to reactivate the war-damaged cities and villages and to resettle the emigrants in their own environments, and to provide grounds for employment and production for the war-damaged populations. Another priority is investments in economic, social and cultural development in the war-damaged areas.
>
> (Mirzadeh, 1991: 5-6)

So far, the policy has essentially relied on domestic resources and has depended very little on foreign assistance. Many complex and interrelated factors ranging from socio-economic conditions to political issues (national and international) have influenced the course of the adopted reconstruction strategy. Among them, the most dominant factors have been the lack of resources (materials and human) and, as we have seen, the huge economic cost of the war. In addition, the balance between the wide spectrum of reconstruction priorities have been at the centre of very sharp debates in these policies. Consequently, four fundamental priorities have emerged: rebuilding the military; energising the national economy; promoting the economic well-being of the population, and the reconstruction of war-damaged areas (Amirahmadi, 1990: 30-32). At the same time, Iran found itself incapable of having access to its own assets, as well as to international aid, Western technologies and expertise due to the deteriorated international political position after the Revolution (Kayhan Havai, No. 914, 1991: 31). This situation has been further complicated by the contradicting domestic political views which prevailed with regard to the reconstruction of the country. For instance, the "radicals" advocate that the government's role should go beyond acting as indicative planner and regulator in such situations.

> Moreover, instead of encouraging the private sector, the government should expand and further develop the production and distributive cooperatives. It should also continue to encourage a policy of self-reliance with a measure of protection for domestic production, resisting the temptation of the quick-fix solution that the open door policy promises.
>
> (Amirahamdi, 1990: 34)

This can be seen in sharp contrast to the supporters of the open door-strategy who argue for rapid reconstruction to reduce the suffering of the people, by any means available. They call for importing goods, liberalising the economy, and employing foreign resources and expertise. They look to a supportive role for the government and oppose direct intervention in the economy and reconstruction. The policy adopted however, is best described as a balance between a strong role for the private and cooperative sectors and a strong state's position in economy and control.

> With the mixed approach, the public sector is most likely to dominate industries and mines, banking systems, exports, some social services and all infrastructures, while the other two sectors will expand in housing, agriculture, small-scale productive activities, imports, and most services relating to consumption and distribution.
>
> (Amirahamdi, 1990: 35)

There are two institutions responsible for the implementation of the reconstruction programmes. These are the Ministry of Reconstruction Crusade which has been responsible for the expansion of both the physical and social infrastructure in the rural areas, and the Housing Foundation which has been supervising reconstruction operations in the rural areas of the war zone. Both agencies have been mobilizing resources to the war zone for reconstruction through their branches in the different provinces of the country. Moreover, volunteers, from other parts of the country, have been encouraged to form groups in order to be identified for better utilization of human resources. Similarly, each government department in each city is expected to set up its own brigade which would supplement the other groups and be directed by the Ministry of Reconstruction Crusade and the Housing Foundation.

> In provinces not directly affected by the war, the auxiliary provincial staff in each province is in charge of rebuilding of one particular city, town or rural area in the war-damaged regions. ... It is a manifestation of a highly developed spirit of cooperation and popular participation without any self-interest or expectation.
>
> (Chamran, 1986: 41)

Despite the co-operative spirit, many parallel organizations with similar functions have undeniably created negative effects on the progress of reconstruction. In most such situations, competition for resources and rivalry for reputation could develop between different revolutionary groups and agencies (Parsa, 1988: 4). Moreover, duplication of work, waste of time and resources are among the obstacles created by such organisational structure in reconstruction programmes (Amirahmadi, 1990: 42).

3.3.2 RECONSTRUCTION: ISSUES AND LESSONS

3.3.2.1 CONSERVATION

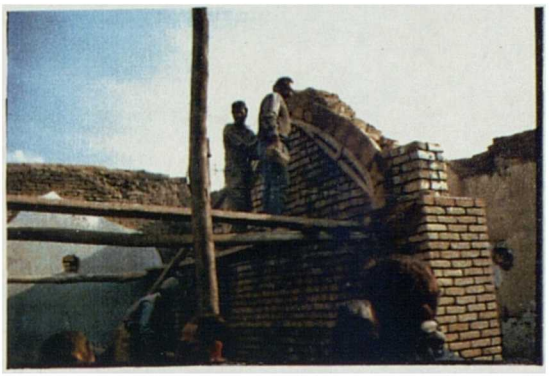
Unlike in most natural disaster situations, the destruction in war is not limited to a defined area and may spread arbitrarily with the development of the course of the war. In wars, destruction can be inflicted on settlements far away from the war zone. They may be aimed to disrupt communication networks, goods supply, and productive sectors, or to agitate communities, or to inflict physical damage and civilian casualties as a revenge [9].

Isfahan is one example of such a case. As one of the most important cities of Iran, it was the target of air raids and missile attacks by Iraq during the war. Many historic buildings such as the Friday Mosque, the bazaar, and some traditional residential areas were damaged in these attacks. In fact, similar destruction, was inflicted on historic buildings, on Iraqi settlements by the Iranians; e.g. Baghdad, Basrah, Fao, etc.(Barakat, 1989 & 1992).

During the visit to Isfahan, a series of intense conservation activities related to damaged monuments were observed. In some cases however, it was difficult to differentiate between the work of routine maintenance and the reconstruction activities. Nevertheless, the process of conservation had certainly been initiated. The affected buildings had been mapped and the extent of damage assessed. The process relied on local artisans and on the use of local materials (Fig. 3.3). Undeniably, there was steady progress of reconstruction and this could be attributed to the effective conservation policy of the pre-war situation, to the clear and organised management, and to the low scale of destruction in Isfahan with comparison to the other damaged areas.

Similarly, conservation of historic monuments, especially religious buildings, has been carried out in the war zone (Fig. 3.4). There are certainly religious and political motivations which aim to strengthen national identity and sense of pride behind these activities. However, they also have led to the invention of symbolic motifs such as figures of political leaders and martyrs which have been used to decorate the walls of shrines contrary to Islamic doctrine and teachings. At the same time, conservation has also led to the symbolization of the war, in the form of "preservation of the traces of the imposed war". Such symbolization however, varies from one area to another; from using empty ammunition and damaged weapons to the extent of preserving the whole damaged village as a monument by moving it to an adjoining site (Fig. 3.5).

While public buildings have been successfully and enthusiastically conserved, traditional domestic buildings have received very little attention. Dezful clearly is a good example of this lack of interest. In this city, despite this indifference towards domestic buildings, the character of the city has been drastically changed by replacing the damaged traditional dwellings by more modern ones. Quite obviously, these new dwellings are far from being comparable with the traditional damaged ones. In this sense, damage has occurred twice; first by the war and the second by reconstruction (Fig. 3.6).



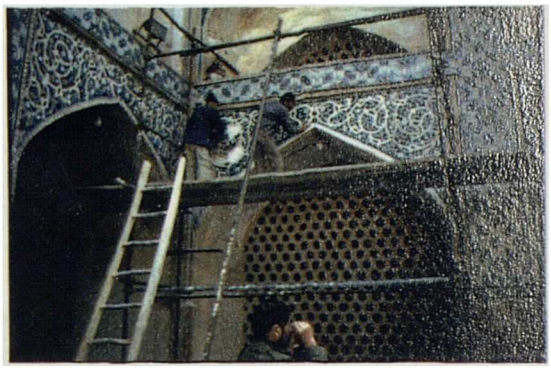


Fig. 3.3: The Use of Local Materials and Skills in Conservation Activities in Isfahan.
Source: Author, January 1991.

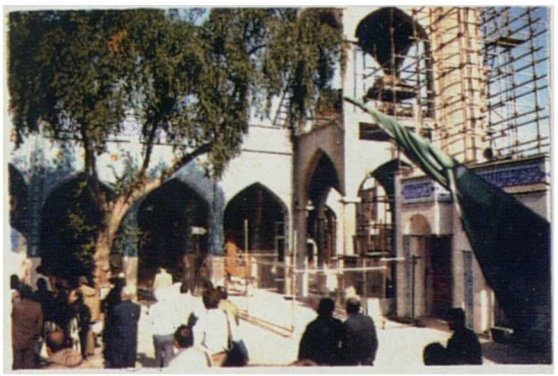
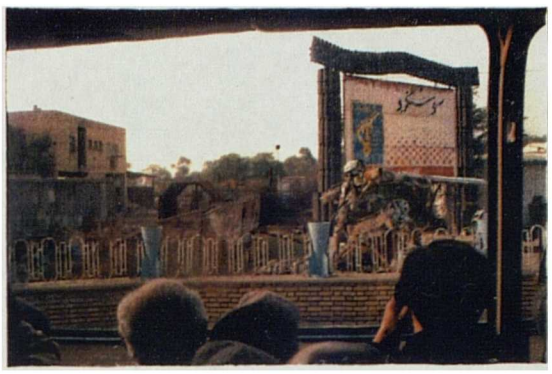
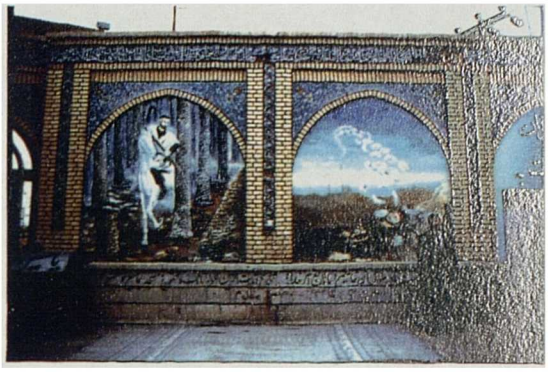


Fig. 3.4: Conservation of Historical Monuments in Khuzestan Province.
Source: Author, January 1991.



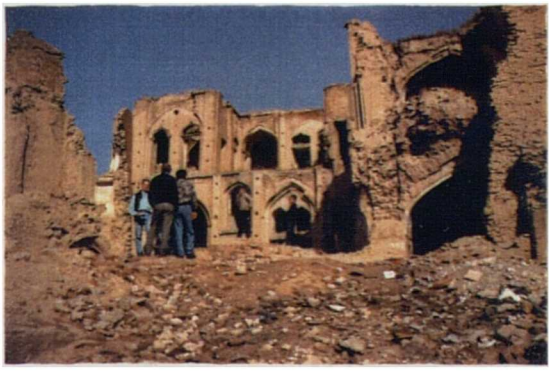
Empty Amunition and Destroyed Weapons



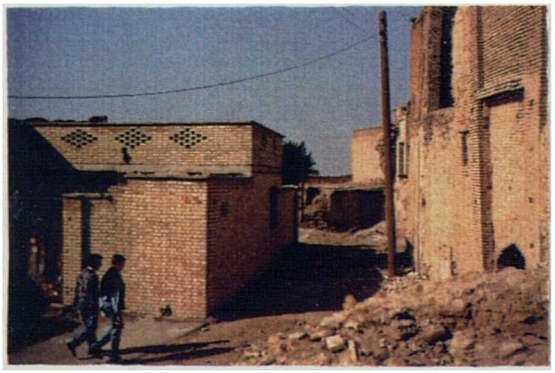
Symbolic Motifs (Martyrs)

Damaged Village Conserved as a Monument

Fig. 3.5: Symbolization of the War.
Source: Author, January 1991



Traditional Damaged Dwellings



Reconstructed Dwellings

Fig. 3.6: Comparison Between Old damaged and Rebuilt Dwellings in Dezful.
Source: Author, January 1991.

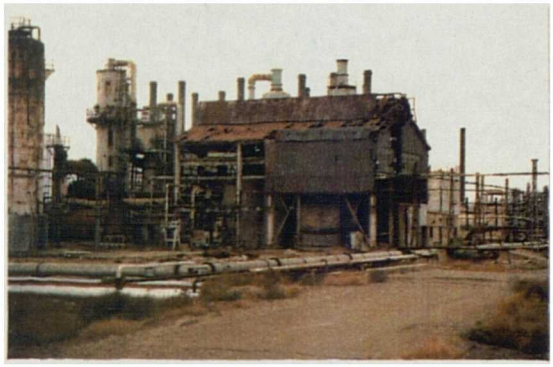
3.3.2.2 REGENERATION AND REHABILITATION

From the outset, reconstruction policy in Iran has recognized the importance of economic regeneration and provision of facilities as a means of encouraging the return of displaced people to their original areas. Because of this, rebuilding was initiated in productive sectors, communication networks, and social and educational facilities even sometimes before housing and infrastructure reconstruction. In these activities however, attention has been paid to both the urban and rural areas, especially the agricultural sector.

> ... clear attention (was) given by the authorities to the importance of reconstruction of jobs and businesses, especially in the agricultural sector. Very often before any house is reconstructed the lands and irrigation system were restored. The people, while working on their land, were living in temporary shelters.
>
> (Zargar, 1988: 29)

The oil city of Abadan, which was devastated during the war, provides a good example of such economic regeneration. It is notable that bringing life to the city started by defusing unexploded ammunition, removing the debris and wreckage. Road repairs and landscaping works were initiated at the same time (Fig. 3.7). Most importantly, repair work has begun on the refinery. By January 1991, the refinery was brought into the production line with 25% of the pre-war capacity. Notably, this rehabilitation has relied completely on Iranian expertise and was integrated with the setting up of workshops for producing spare parts and repairing damaged machinery and equipments. The importance of the refinery is not only recognized at the regional level for providing employment opportunities, it is also considered an essential source of income for financing the reconstruction programmes on the national level. This economic regeneration was accompanied by the rebuilding of 5,000 dwelling units to accommodate the workers in the oil industry.

In different areas of Khuzestan, an intensive rebuilding programme of public facilities - administrative, mosques, schools and hospitals - has been implemented (Fig. 3.8). During the visit, it was not possible to examine the appropriateness of these facilities in terms of



Damage Inflicted on the Refinery

Damaged Houses

Rebuilt Oil Storages

Landscaping as a Mean of Regeneration

Fig. 3.7: Damage and Reconstruction in Abadan City.
Source: Author, January 1991.

School

Public Building

Fig. 3.8: Rebuilding Public Facilities in Khuzestan Province.
Source: Author, January 1991.

responding to the real needs of the people due to the lack of time. However, one assessment of their appropriateness can be provided by reference to Zargar who writes:

> Much of the money spent on public services is wasted. The use that villagers will get from schools, mosques and so on is over estimated. Two factors are missing; first, the lack of local community based organisations, or any attempt to train the local people to take responsibility for running these facilities, and second, the facilities themselves are usually on such a scale that the local communities are unable to afford the cost of maintenance.
>
> (Zargar, 1989: 704)

This, in other words, has ignored the need for the community to take responsibility and control over the management and development of such facilities. Moreover, the notion of fitting functions into separate buildings has failed to see the creativity of the people's use of space. In some cases, the communities were able to transform the settings in order to provide public facilities for them by themselves. This was achieved with minimum cost but by strong community initiative and organisation.

> Where there is no mosque, as in Geraia, the head's guest-house takes over its role to some extent and becomes the most public building, where the heads of families meet to speak about their settlement's affairs and to celebrate ceremonies and rituals.
>
> (Pour, 1988: 30)

Although some of these public buildings have been designed within the spirit of traditional architecture there is no doubt that providing only fine pieces of architecture is not sufficient. Obviously, they should be tailored according to people's needs and integrated with effective management and maintenance plans in order to re-establish the sense of belonging between people and such settings. As Dayaratne (1992) shows, it is the way in which the settings become places; places where people can identify themselves, can establish a sense of belonging, and can feel a caring towards them, that could enhance the re-establishment of relations between people and their reconstructed settlement. It is the way in which meaningful and effective reconstruction could be initiated to take its own shape in the hands of the people.

3.3.2.3 HOUSING

During the visit, it was clearly observed that different criteria and approaches have been used in the reconstruction of different settlements in Khuzestan. While Khorramshahr has been rebuilt on its original site, the city of Howeizeh has been rebuilt on a new site ten times bigger than the original one which has been preserved as a monument of the war. Moreover, settlements such as Bardieh and Geraia have been rebuild with the direct involvement of the people. Others such as Farsia and Howeizeh have been designed and rebuilt by outsiders. In these, a shift of approach to reconstruction can be witnessed (Appendix 3.3). As a high Iranian official says:

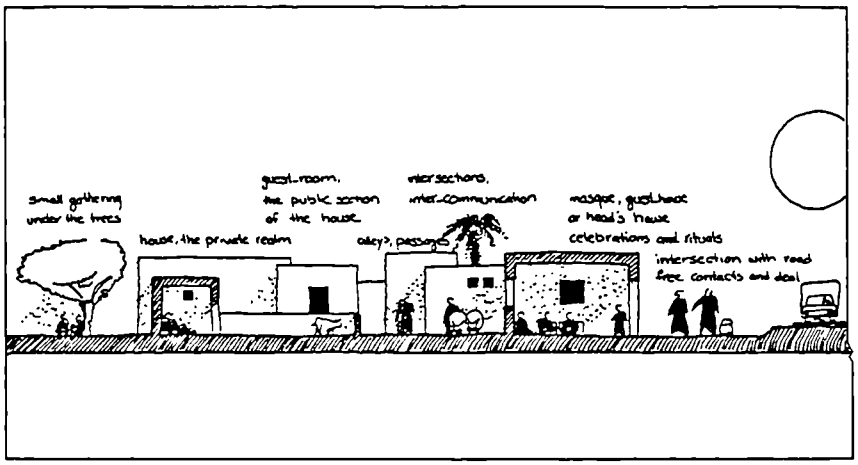
> With the lapse of nine years since the beginning of reconstruction activities, and the wealth of practical experiences accumulated, we have now identified the positive ones and discarded the negative. Those experiences have been achieved through a top-to-bottom and then a bottom-to-top trend.
>
> (Mirzadeh, 1991: 2)

According to Zargar (1988) however, these different approaches could be attributed to the change of rural reconstruction policy, which has been the subject of controversial debates since the initiation of rural reconstruction programmes in 1983.

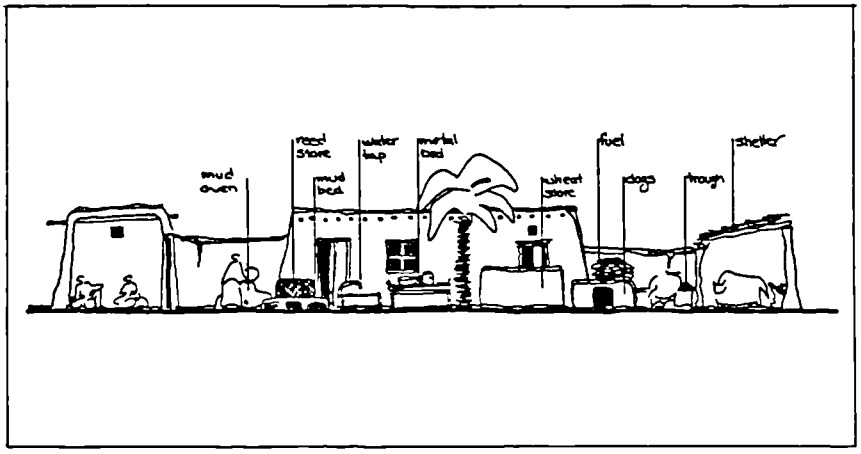
> The major debates were around defining the objectives of reconstruction. Some of those involved defined reconstruction as regeneration. By this definition, in each village, efforts should be made to help the victims to resettle, and therefore no change in the settlement or life style were considered. This view was criticised by others, as it appears in many post-disaster situations. The other groups claimed that if we look to the previous situation of these villages, in fact we cannot see anything worthwhile to reconstruct.
>
> (Zargar, 1988: 29)

Zargar classifies these policies on the basis of the level of people's participation in the reconstruction activities.

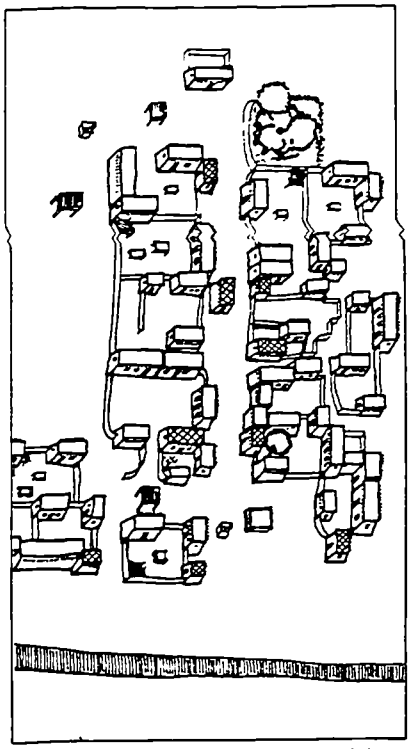
- Participatory policy: people are involved in the decision making, design and construction, e.g. Bardieh, Golbahar, Geraia (Fig. 3.9).
- Non-participatory policy: the reconstruction project was designed by outsiders. At the time of rebuilding, local people have been either living in other areas because of



Typical range of functions in the hamlet



Typical functions of the courtyard



New Geraia has been designed and built by its inhabitants

Guest-Rooms

Fig. 3.9: An Example of a Village Rebuilt by People in Khuzestan Province. Source: Pour, 1988: 30-31.

displacement or were able to make only a minor contribution to construction, e.g. Farsia, Soveidani, Sachethamoudi, Howeizeh (Fig. 3.10).

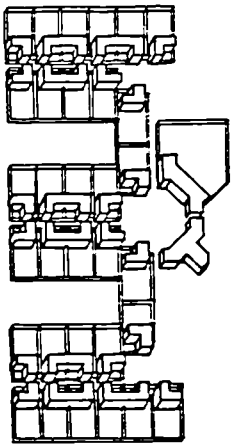
- Semi-participatory policy: people have little opportunity to influence the decision making and the design processes and their role is limited to construction of individual dwellings, e.g. Sarieh, Choolaneh, Bustan, Dezful.

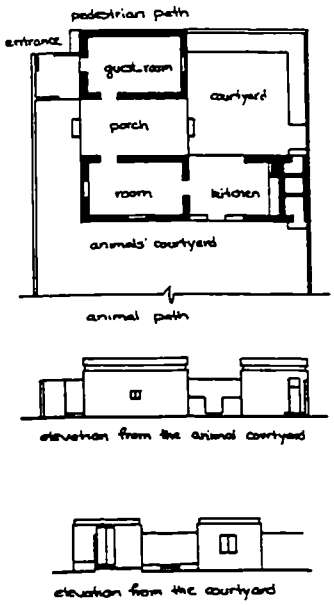
However, according to Zargar, no clear line can be drawn between the implementation of these different policies. This suggests that different policies may have been implemented at the same time in different settlements.

In addition to the developments of the reconstruction policy, three major reasons could also be recognised as having contributed to the different approaches of reconstruction in Khuzestan. First is the availability of resources and the perception of the voluntary organization responsible for financing the reconstruction of the settlement. For instance, Razavi Organization, which is involved in real estate development from Khorasan province, has been responsible in the case of Howeizeh while the gold merchants of Tehran have been responsible in the case of Jelizi.

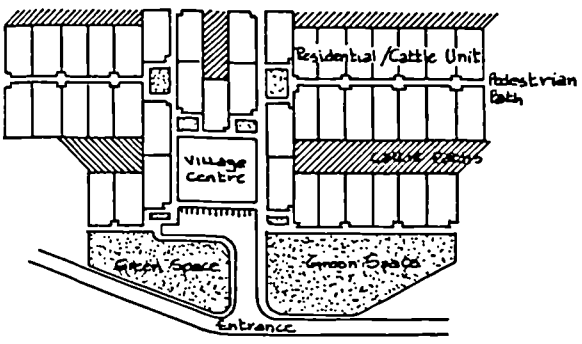
The second factor is the symbolic importance of the settlement - victory, sacrifice, defence - emerged in relation to different settlements during the war. For example, Khorrmshahr was rebuilt as a sign of regaining power and the changing of the course of the war. Because of this symbolic significance however, the city has been "over-developed" to the extent that it has become a "show room".

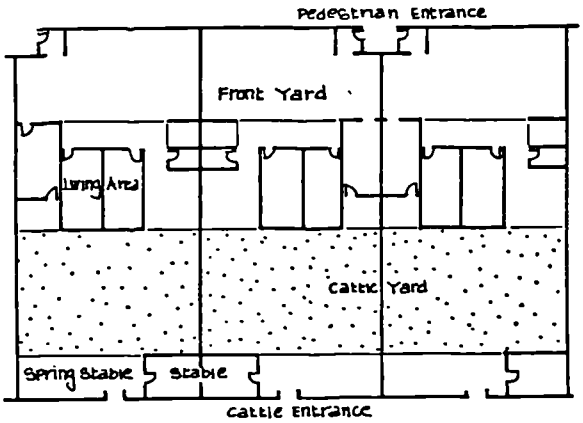
> 24 days heroic resistance against the enemy and more than 20 months of heavy battles leading to the freedom of the city (coupled) with heavy damages to the physical fabric of the city, which impresses every witness, has made Khorramshahr the centre of attention in the reconstruction of the war- damaged areas. For many it is the place to manifest Islamic values and ideals [10].
>
> (Miri, 1980: 8)





Source: Pour, 1988: 31,32.





Source: Farjad, 1986: 270,271.

Fig. 3.10: Examples of Villages Built by Outsiders in Khuzestan Province.

Moreover, the whole damaged site of Howeizeh has been conserved as a symbol of the "imposed war". For this reason, the town has been rebuilt and developed on a new site. It is worth noting that the new site has been selected and designed by outsiders, and that there has been little involvement of its own people.

> The agency which took the task of the reconstruction in defence of the plan has stated that because of the symbolic importance of Howeizeh we had to come up with such a solution which on the one hand reimbursed the population of the town for the difficulties they endured and at same time indicated to the enemy their failure despite their intention of removing the town from the map, we will not let this happen.
>
> (Parsa, 1988: 12)

Similarly in Iraq, al-Fao was reconstructed in 114 days as symbol of pride and victory. For the Iraqis al-Fao represents "the Gateway to their Grand victory" and "the City of Sacrifice" (Barakat, 1992: 5).

In addition, some settlements have been allocated more public resources than others. This is related to the size and relative closeness of villages to urban centres; the larger the settlement and the nearer to urban centre the more likely to attract public funds. This makes it easier to be serviced and at the same time cheaper in term of cost per person (Zargar, 1989: 703). However, the differences of reconstruction in varied settlements in terms of resources, styles, standards and attention, could contribute to energize ethnic tensions in areas consisting of ethnic minorities. In addition, it could also raise people's expectation unrealistically and retard the process of self-reliance.

> The Garaians might envy the Farsians because of the "modernity" and urbanity they find in Farsia, especially in the application of brick and concrete blocks; the attention paid to them and a free redevelopment they have received; and their planned unbuilt facilities in Farsia. The Farsians might envy the Geraians because of their authority in laying out their hamlet and consequent convenience of it ...
>
> (Pour, 1988: 33)

Although various approaches to rural reconstruction have been implemented, some general and common observations gained from the visit could be advanced. Quite clearly, they reveal that most housing reconstruction suffers from problems occurring in three major

areas. Firstly, emphasis on speed and quantification have led sometimes to rebuilding settlements alien to the people. In some cases, reconstruction has started even before identifying practical and effective means to encourage the displaced people to return to their original settlements.

Secondly, building materials have been produced in terms of standard types and delivered to sites by the government through different organizations. While this has facilitated quick and efficient construction, it has also neglected the resources and skills available at the regional and local levels which ought to be developed. It has also led to wastage of materials and to difficulties in maintenance due to the unfamiliar construction techniques. In addition, this has contributed to the lack of local characteristics.

Thirdly, in most situations, outsiders have been involved in major decision making, in planning and this has overshadowed the community involvement. It is well known that outcomes are more positive when people are directly involved in shaping their built environment according to their standards and needs (Pour, 1988; Zargar, 1989). This point is well illustrated in Farsia which was designed and built totally by outsiders.

> Absence of their own familiar concepts of space: the idea of centres and clusters and the public-private hierarchy entails a demand for change. The new hamlet has been an external entity to them so they have started to internalise it by adaptations and changes, from minor ones like building required facilities such as ovens and sheds, to more important ones like changing the function of the designed spaces such as the kitchen and family courtyard, to major ones like reforming the whole system. This reform has been the major contradiction of the system: the narrow pedestrian ways, the square left unused and the cattle routes becoming a vivid centre for the cluster of houses around them. This has been encouraged by the fact that the daily and economic life are completely related to the animals. So these paths become lively and busy, and the separation principle unverified.
>
> (Pour, 1988: 33)

As it is seen, there is a clear gap between the theoretical conceptualizations such as the use of local materials, employment of people's initiatives, respecting regional identities, and their practical application. Undeniably, these general and common observations are more

apparent in some locations than others. This disparity could be attributed to many interrelated factors. Firstly, there is lack of defining the appropriate level of people's participation in the planning and design phases of reconstruction. Pour provides an interpretation of this situation:

> ... participation has covered a wide spectrum of issues, from the role of the private sector investment in the economic recovery of the country to the labour which the war refugees could contribute to rebuilding their destroyed cities and villages. These have been mainly dealing with the mobilization of the popular resources. However, in only a few applications of the term, public participation has been sought in the decision making process and the definition of the policies.
>
> (Pour, 1989: 4)

Secondly, there is a lack or a failure to establish effective mechanisms of reconstruction for implementation in which the real needs of the victims and their level of participation could be comprehensively identified. Within the existing mechanisms, there is a lack of integration of activities, efficient use of resources, comprehensive supervision of the reconstruction process and development based on evaluation and feed back.

Thirdly there is a predominant focus on "quantity rather than quality". This is mainly because physical reconstruction is immediately visible and yields quick results which makes it more favourable to government and other institutions. This makes it difficult for an approach relying on community and grass root levels to be developed, because such processes are naturally slow and do not provide immediately visible evidence of reconstruction.

3.3.3 DISCUSSION OF THE IRANIAN EXPERIENCE

It is recognized that the depth of insights gained during the visit to the war-damaged areas in Khuzestan and Isfahan are limited due to the lack of time. However, it was apparent that reconstruction policy in Iran is not rigid and fixed; it is subject to constant improvements, changes and re-examination. Nevertheless, its future trends depend mainly

on the political and economic conditions of the country and the organizational advancement of reconstruction activities (evaluation and feed back, adjustment, organization, management, etc.)

One important realisation however, is that theoretical concepts such as: use of local materials, people's participation, and bottom-up development, depend on integrated policies to gain their validity in real situations. Therefore it is essential that reconstruction policies should integrate these concepts in the implementation strategies in order to be meaningful. This implies that such theoretical concepts should not be based on very general interpretations but should be specific to the locality and the conditions of the community to enable full participation of the people. Reconstruction should be implemented at national, regional and local levels with clear allocation of responsibilities and duties to all its participants.

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with two contexts of reconstruction; the first in Algeria after the 1980 earthquake and the second in Iran after the war with Iraq. It was recognized that reconstruction of the built environment, can take the same shape after a disaster whatever its type; natural or man-made, quick or fast impact. Despite the differences in the two cases in terms of damage, resources, policies etc., both the case studies have shown that reconstruction is not a physical matter; it is not only a matter of building houses. Reconstruction should be integrated with economic and social rehabilitation. The chapter reveals the complexity of rebuilding a damaged settlement. It was clearly highlighted that reconstruction can be most effectively approached when people's needs and participation are considered during the reconstruction process.

In the first case of Algeria, it was shown how the top-down approach can lead to wastage of resources. In the second case, it reveals that appropriate principles and objectives could loose their effectiveness during implementation due to the lack of an appropriate mechanism to integrate them within the national and local conditions. Both cases have shown, directly or indirectly, how the common mistakes of reconstruction, discussed in chapter two, in post disaster situations can manifest themselves in reality .

The outcome of this chapter is that the approach to reconstruction should be based on identifying real needs of the people and the appropriate level of their participation in order to guide the government policy in mobilizing resources and drawing up policy. It should recognize priorities, problems, issues, possibilities, alternatives. This could be better achieved if local conditions (the bottom) informed the government (the top) how their policy should be set up in order to achieve a "reconstruction within development". This is the task of the third and fourth parts of the thesis which focus on the case of war-damaged villages in Lebanon.

NOTES

NB: for full details about the studies mentioned here see references.

[1] **Visit to Iran:** this was possible with the invitation of the author to the Second International Conference on Reconstruction of the War-Damaged Areas, University of Tehran, Iran 5-15 January 1991. The conference organizers arranged for a visit to the war-damaged areas in Isfahan city and in Khuzestan province: Abadan, Khoramshahr, Susangerd, the villages and cities of Dehlavieh, Tinikhie, Bostan, Bint Kwar, Howeizeh, Subhaniyah and Dezful.

[2] **Al-Asnam renamed:** after the earthquake, the people of al-Asnam believed that the event was due the unfair name of the city: al-Asnam means the idols which the Arabs worshipped before the introduction of Islam. People insisted in changing the name of the city, which came to be called Ech-Cheliff referring to the river passing by the city.

[3] **Details about Ech-Chellif:** The details were based on Hireche (1987, 41-43).

[4] **Theoretical Model of Hass:** the recovery process is divided into three major stages and a complementary one: emergency, restoration, reconstruction I (replacement) and reconstruction II (commerative, betterment and development). According to Hass et al. (1977) each of the stages last approximatively ten times longer than the previous one. Form the study which was based on comparative data of four events of earthquakes: Rapid city, San Francisco, Anchorage, and Managua. The study concludes that the first stage should be between one to two weeks which implies that reconstruction I takes a minimum three years period to be completed.

[5] **Past Experiences of Reconstruction:** refer to Chapter Two which shows how the common mistakes occur in post-disaster reconstruction under the misconception of making the damaged settlement a better place.

[6] **Microzonation:** due to the lack of microzonation map of Ech-Cheliff city, it was decided to rebuild the new city on seven new sites. This was influenced by the fact that a severe damage inflicted on the city centre which led the planning authority to assume that the old site is located on an earthquake fault. However, the microzonation study, completed by Woodward Clyde Consultant (American Company) by the end of 1984, proved that the assumption was wrong. Even the consultant gave its approval for the suitability of the development of the old site.

[7] **Repairs:** Hireche (1987: 90-93) mentions this issue but he does not elaborate about the type of repairs required. However, similar experiences show that most problems in prefabricated dwellings are: joints between panels, cracks in walls and ceilings, pipe installations, defective waterproofing, cracks in tiling, etc. (Atif, 1988).

[8] **Estimation of Economic Cost of the War:** this includes damages inflicted on infrastructure, oil revenue losses and GNP losses in relation to direct, indirect and opportunity costs (Mofid, 1990: 48).

[9] **Disruption during War:** Iraq is a vivid example of the social, economic, communications disruption, and the lack of goods and basic services which occurred during the recent Gulf war.

[10] **Quotation:** the quotation was translated from Farsi by Dr A. M. Pour.

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PART III

CHAPTER 4: Country Profile

CHAPTER 5: Social and Physical Structure of the Lebanese Village; Tradition and Change

CHAPTER FOUR:

COUNTRY PROFILE

CHAPTER 4: COUNTRY PROFILE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The production of the built environment is a complex process which is shaped and modified by the interaction of many forces. These forces originate from two major sources: **Man** and **Nature**. The first source includes life style and demographic characteristics, spiritual and religious beliefs, ethical and morale values, culture and heritage, technology and human resources, political and administrative systems, etc. The second source encompasses location, climate, landscape, materials, etc. (Rapoport, 1969: 13; Zahran, 1973: 17). The produced built environment is expected to be a clear expression of the society which created it; it must also satisfy the user needs and be sympathetic with the natural environment.

In this sense, it is imperative to have an overview of the forces which influence the rural environment in Lebanon. As rural-urban relationships should not be overlooked and some of the forces which influence reconstruction programmes originate outside the village boundaries, the analysis of both human and natural forces includes materials relevant to the whole country.

Because statistics for Lebanon are often impressionistic - no official census of the population, for example, has been taken since 1932, and chaotic conditions since 1975 prevent the gathering of reliable data in many cases - figures employed in this chapter will sometimes be for years and time spans that may seem remote in time. Such figures are, however, useful as indications of conditions and trends.

4.2 PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Lebanon is a small mountainous country of 10,452 km^2 somewhat smaller than Northern Ireland. It is situated in the central part of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea - South West Asia. Set geographically among three continents: Europe, Asia and Africa

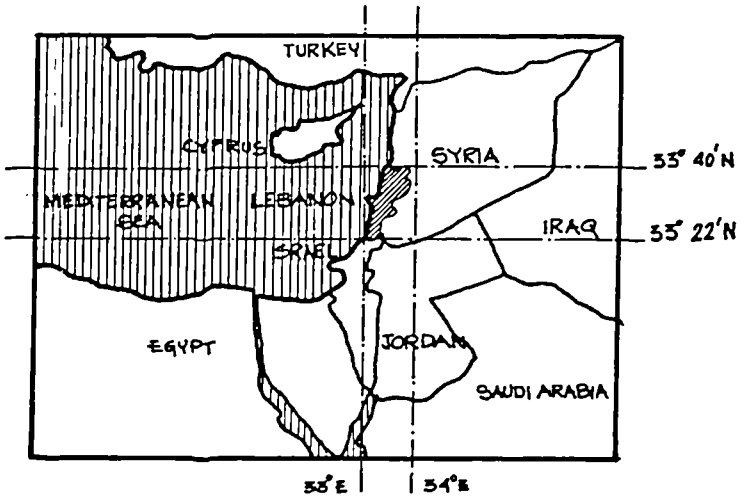
have had a great impact on the economic, historical, cultural and political life in Lebanon especially on the capital Beirut [1]. Lebanon is bounded to the north and east by Syria and to the south by Israel. Territorially, the Lebanon is a rectangular shape which stretches from north to south, parallel to the Mediterranean, for a distance of about 220 km and varies in width, east to west, from 30 to 90 km. Lebanon is formed of strikingly contrasted lowlands and highlands; that extend generally parallel to the Mediterranean and to each other; in a north-east to south-west direction. As a result landforms, soils, vegetations and climate change sharply within short distances [2] and four distinct physiographic zones can be distinguished (Fig. 4.1).

In term of climate, it is best described as temperate Mediterranean (sub tropical) and is characterized by two seasons: the rainy season, mid November to mid March, and a dry season the rest of the year. The two seasons are separated by two transitory periods of short duration: spring and autumn. In general, temperatures, relative humidity and precipitation differ greatly in Lebanon from lowlands to mountains and from summer to winter. It can be stated that latitude is a decisive factor in the climate of any given area in Lebanon (Fig. 4.2).

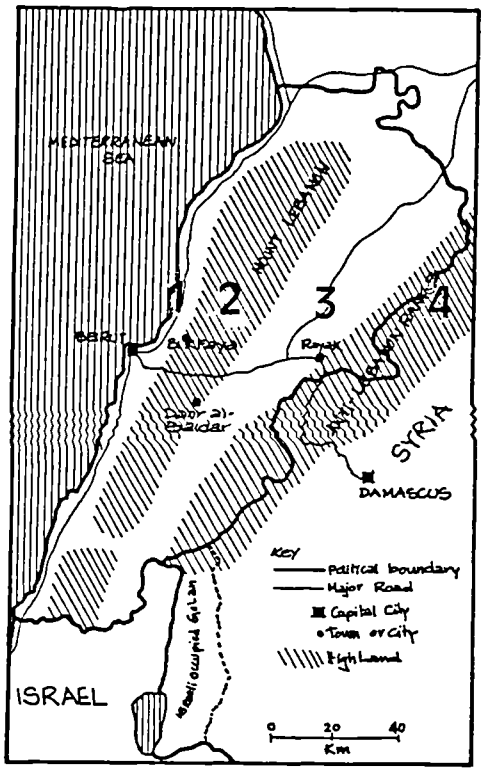
4.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

4.3.1 THE SOCIETY

In 1978 the total population was estimated at 3,152,000 of which there were about 400,000 Palestinian. The population is extremely youthful, in 1978 estimates indicated that 43% of the population were 14 years old or under. This due to the high birth rate (39-42 per 1000) and to the declining mortality (9.9 per 1000) (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1984: 766) [3]. Lebanon's society is a heterogeneous and complex one. Some seventeen sects coexist in Lebanon today which are mainly divided between Islam and Christianity. Because these sects have sprung from the same origin and share the same tradition.



1- The Coastal Plain is narrow and discontinuous, almost disappearing in places. It is narrow in the central part between *Jbail* (Byblos) to the north and *Saida* to the south, and is much wider in its northern and southern parts where it varies from 6 to 15 km in width. The northern and broader part of this coastal strip has small hills and valleys; it is volcanic region with Lava and Basalt stone. This region is known as the Akkar. From Beirut to Tripoli in the north the coastline is rocky and often steep; south of Beirut it is sandy. This part is formed of river deposited alluvium and marine sediments which alternate suddenly with rocky and sandy beaches. It is fertile almost everywhere and sandstones are abundant in this area.

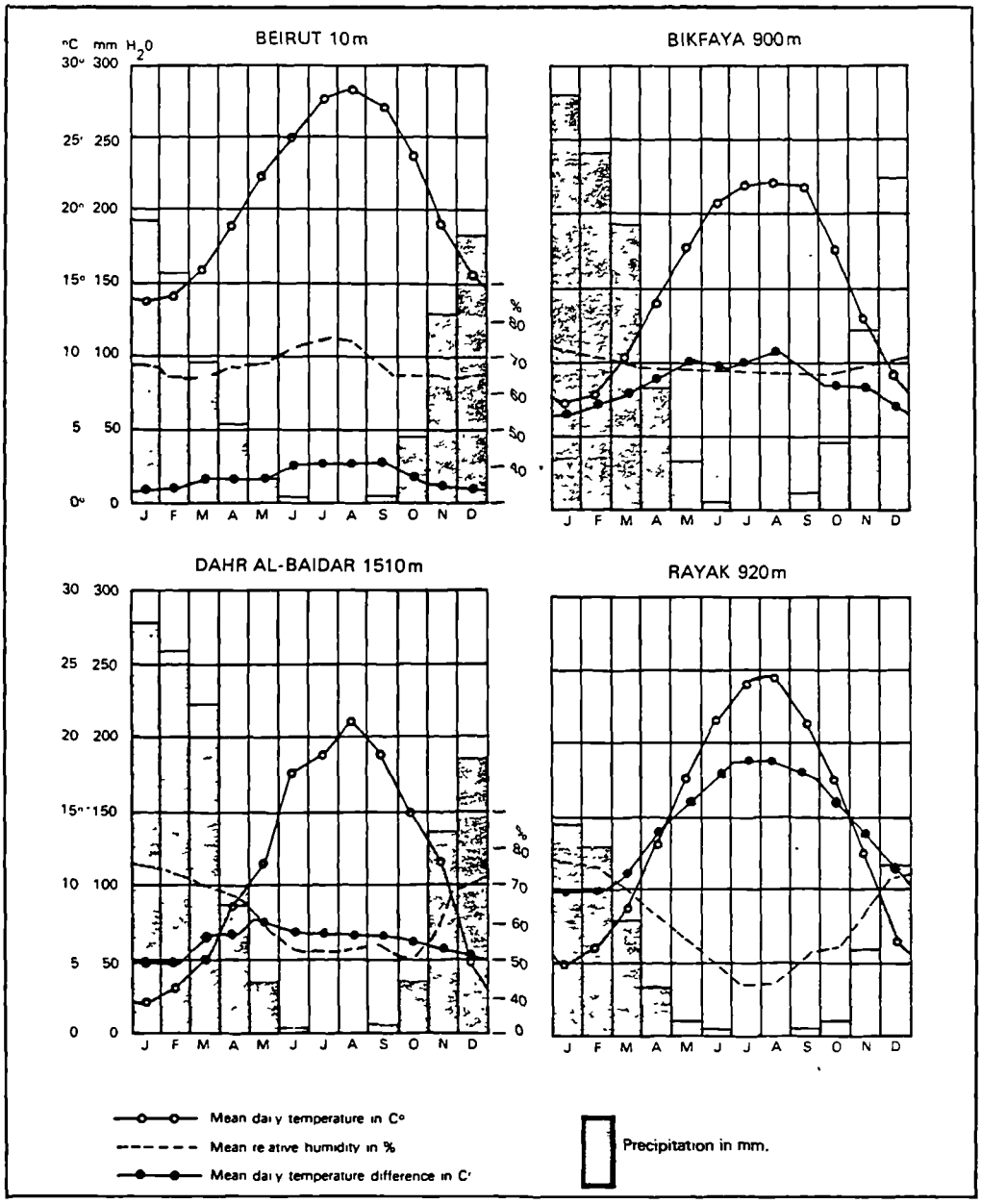


2- The Lebanon Mountains (Western range) are the most prominent feature of the country's landscape. The range, rising steeply from the coast, forms a ridge of limestone and sandstone, cuts by narrow and deep gorges. Its maximum elevation is at *Qurnat as-Sawda* (3088 m) in the north. The range gradually slopes to the south, rising again to a second peak, *Jabal Sannin*, northeast of Beirut (2628 m). It is on the slopes of these mountains, in particular on the western slopes facing the sea, that villages and small towns are scattered, up to 1500 m, in the midst of orchards and forests. Limestone composition of the mountains provides a relatively poor topsoil. The lower and middle slopes, however, are intensively cultivated by using the terraced hills technique.

3- *Al-Bekaa* Valley lies between the Lebanon Mountains in the west and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains in the east; its fertile soils consists of alluvial deposits from the mountains on either side. The valley is approximately 177 km long and from 10 to 25 km wide with an average elevation of 760 m above sea level. In the south, *al-Bekaa* becomes hilly and rugged blending into the foothills of mountain *Hermon (Jabal Ash-Shaykh)*. The presence of clay and water in combination with a fairly dry climate allows the use of mud brick in construction.

4- The Anti-Lebanon Mountains (Eastern range) starts with a high peak in the north and slopes southward until it is interrupted by the compelling heights of Mount *Hermon* 2,814 m. The Anti-Lebanon Mountains have a stony, desertlike surface. In general, it is quite arid, less productive and more thinly populated than the geographical division previously mentioned.

Fig. 4.1: Location and Geography of Lebanon.



Mean daily maximum temperature ranges from 32° C in July, on the coast and in *al-Bekaa*, to 16° C on the coast and 10° C in *al-Bekaa* in January. Mean minimum temperatures in January are 7o C on the coast and 2° C in *al-Bekaa*. At 1500 m, the altitude of the highest settlements these are reduced by about 8° C.

Whole of Lebanon has a high relative humidity all the year round. Regional and seasonal differences show that the highest relative humidity along the coast occurs during the summer months, as a result of high temperature and more evaporation. The highest relative humidity in the mountains is a winter feature resulting from a great amount of water vapour in the air.

Nearly all precipitation falls in winter and averages 750 to 1000 mm on the coast, rising to more than 1520 mm in higher altitudes. *Al-Bekaa* is drier and receives 400 to 600 mm. On the higher mountain tops, this precipitation falls as heavy snow that remains until early summer.

Fig. 4.2: Climatic Data in Four Locations in Lebanon. The locations are marked on Fig. 4.1. Source: Ragette, 1980: 4.

> They are alike in basic moral and social value orientations; in art, literature and music; in their social image and self-appraisal; in the structure of their families; in the tendency to intermarry among blood relatives; in prestige and wealth symbols; in their conception of heroism and leadership; in their humour, folk wisdom, and proverbs.
>
> (Toubi, 1980: 87)

The sect is also a "politico-organizational tool" clad with religious robes. It competes with the state as a source of legislative authority; as the sect grows stronger the state grows weaker and vice versa. The sect shapes the collective action, and defines the guidelines of the people's political and economic behaviour; it sets the process of interaction between people.

> Interaction between sects rarely goes beyond commercial transactions, personal friendships, and the exchange of visits on religious and official occasions. Marriage, living patterns, and daily interactions are limited to the members of one sect, even when that sect coexists with another in the same village or quarter of town.
>
> (Toubi, 1980: 86)

In such a social atmosphere, identifications and loyalties are to the sect; on a more intimate and immediate level they are to the extended family more than to either class or state. The extended family is the essential unit of society, and it is the medium between the individual and the larger social units and the state. In both rural and urban areas, the extended family is the important productive unit. Typically, the concentration of employees in a business has been along family and religious lines.

> The extended family provides many services to the individual, ... Because of trust among its members, the family is a source of investment capital; it is a support for education ... it is a medium for obtaining employment; it serves the function of a bank; through migration and success abroad it is a source of remittances; and in times of crisis it can provide refuge and in times of illness and of old age, social security.
>
> (Gordon, 1983: 34-35)

Consequently, traditional values such as communal identity, family solidarity, hospitality, protection of the guest, continue to be strong in the socialization process of most Lebanese. These values, often called "primordial ties", are expected to be weakened with education

modernity. But what is remarkable with the Lebanese case is the extent to which the primordial ties have survived and in some ways even been reinforced by modernization and urbanization (Gordon, 1983: 33-55; Khalaf, 1987).

4.3.2 THE ECONOMY

The roots of the laissez-faire, based on "externalization and tertiarization", of Lebanon's economy were laid in the nineteenth century. But this process was greatly expanded with the institution of the French Mandate in 1920 and was further accelerated with the establishment of the "Merchant Republic" after independence in 1943 [4]. However, the complexity and "invisible earnings" - from the Lebanese tertiary sector which included trade, transit, banking and other services - have been difficult to comprehend. An economist made a historic observation upon this system: "I don't know what makes the economy work but it's doing very well and I wouldn't advise you to touch it" [5].

> The Lebanese economy stood out as one of the few remaining citadels of truly laissez-faire capitalism in one the last vestiges of the liberal state par excellence. Lebanon, if not an oddity, would at best serve as a bad example.
>
> (Shehadi, 1987: 6)

Until 1975, the traditional agriculture sector provided primary employment for approximately 20% of the labour force but generated only 9% of income; services, which employed only 15% of the labour force generated 70% (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1984: 766). The growth of services was related mainly to minimum state intervention, and a favourable geographical location and entrepreneurship.

With the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 till 1984, the economic performance of Lebanon, based mainly on the tertiary level, could relatively survive the development of the political events. After 1984, the economy has been characterized by severe stagnation and collapse as a result of the high degree of uncertainty and unpredictability over the political future of the country [6]. Another factor was the fall in the level of remittances of

the Lebanese immigrants from $200 millions a month in 1982 to $50 millions in 1987 (Jansen, 1988: 102). Overall, the country's productive capacity was reduced by more than 40 % as compared with 1974; the greatest reduction capacity seemed to be in services, followed by industry and agriculture. In 1984, "Statistics on the Lebanese Crisis" (1984: 5), shows that "Lebanon may enter into a poverty and dedevelopment cycle".

- 17.3% of the Lebanese had no monthly income at all.
- 1.9% were receiving only 25% of their original income.
- 6.7% were receiving only 50% of their original income.
- 23% had their salary decreased.
- 96% complained of the high prices of products.

An UNDRO report (1987: 4-5) stated that the cost of living rose by 144.9 % between December 1986 and August 1987. It also estimated that the average minimum budget needed by a household of four members was LL32,500 which was four times the minimum wage. A brief review, based on Saidi (198?), of the major macro-economic developments over the pre-war and war periods shows: (1) sharp upsurge in the inflation rate, (2) an explosive growth rate of public debt, (3) a sharp decline in real economic growth, and (4) a depreciation of the Lebanese pound (Livre) against the $ US (Table 4.1).

Year		$	Lebanese Pound	Source
---	1980	1	3	Jansen (1988)
---	1985	1	5	"
Jan	1986	1	18	"
Feb	1987	1	100	"
Oct	1987	1	300	Europa Year Book
June	1991	1	650	an-Nahar, 1991
March	1992	1	1200	Asharq al-Awsat, 1992

Table 4.1: Exchange Rate of Lebanese Pound Against American Dollar.

Even after the recent political settlement, the economic conditions have shown more deterioration over the war period (US $1 = LL2100 in July 1992). This point was correctly predicted by Jansen in 1988 before the recent political settlement.

> It is difficult to be optimistic about Lebanon's economic future. Even if there were a political settlement there would be no end to inflationary pressures because a "traditional Lebanese solution" would cause an increase, not a reduction, in deficits as each of the communities demanded its price for reaching an accommodation. Even the most limited expenditures on roads repairs, improved communications and low-income housing are subjected to bazaar bargaining by the politicians seeking to gain private advantage from public funds.
>
> (Jansen, 1988: 102)

4.4 HISTORY AND POLITIC

4.4.1 BRIEF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The civil war in Lebanon does not only prove that the Lebanese do not have a common perspective about their future political situation, but it also shows that the Lebanese do not have a common vision about their past. The disagreement over the historicity of their country is characterized by two visions. The Christians, mainly the Maronite, stress the "Phoenicianism" or the particuliarist "Lebanism" of west-ward looking. While the Muslims, mainly the Sunni, tend to look to the history of Lebanon as a part of the general history of the Arabs (Salibi, 1988a; Cobban, 1985:14-15). However, in order to understand the roots of the present conflict in Lebanon, it is instructive to take a brief look at the country's historical development.

> All states are artificial in the literal sense: that is to say, they have been formed by specific historical processes, by human acts within a given physical environment over a period of time.
>
> (Hourani, 198?:2)

About 3000 BC, the Phoenicians [7] probably settled down on the eastern Mediterranean coast and established a number of city states of which Tyre and Sidon on the Lebanese shore were the most prosperous. The territory of the present-day Lebanon came under the authority of the successive empires which flourished in the area; the Persians (6th century

BC), then the Greeks (4th century BC) and the Romans (1st century BC). In the 7th century AD the historical Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) [8] became a part of the different Islamic Empires except for the period between 1098-1291 when the coastal and northern Syria fell under the Crusaders domination. Between 1516-1918 the whole of Syria came under the Ottoman Empire. In 1918, after the First World War, Lebanon was under the French mandate which led to the creation of Greater Lebanon (present boundaries). In 1926, Greater Lebanon was reconstituted as the Lebanese Republic and gained its independence in 1943 during the Second World War (for details see Appendix 4.1).

4.4.2 THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ITS DILEMMA

Lebanon is a republic with a parliamentary system of government. The distribution of power and political system are determined by a "National Pact", formulated in 1943, which was in fact an unwritten agreement among the political elites. The agreement is based on proportional sectarian representation in order to contain and moderate conflicts and to limit the power of any group or the alliance of few groups to dominate others.

> The purpose of the political system of Lebanon was to balance interests: those of the politicians themselves, their clients, and their communities and district.
>
> (Hourani, 198?: 14)

According to this system, the President must be a Maronite, the Prime Minister a Sunni, and the speaker of the National Assembly a Shiite. Parliamentary seats are apportioned on a religion basis in the ratio of six Christians to five Muslims, making the total number always a multiple of eleven [9]. This sectarian distribution is also observed in all administrative appointments for public office. Despite Shils (1966) description of this system as "a happy phenomenon", he does not hide his doubt and caution by saying that "Lebanon is not a civil society". Therefore, Barakat (1973) sees this society as a "mosaic" which provides a system of checks and balances among the different groups but does not provide a strong national sense of identity. He seeks the evidence for this contention in the following dominant features of the Lebanese society:

- Lack of consensus on fundamentals.
- Lack of extensive and open dialogue.
- Private loyalties and interests dominate public loyalties and interests.
- Geographical concentration of different religious communities.
- Non-separation of religion from the state and legitimization of confessionalism.
- Absence of unified educational system.
- The existence of conflicting reference groups (outside groups).

(Barakat, 1973: 304)

The system did survive for 30 years or so (1943 till 1975); the country did enjoy an apparent stable system and perpetual prosperity. This was a direct result of the events in the surrounding countries; the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Egyptian revolution in 1952, and the unstable political system in Syria. All these were associated with free economic policy and minimum state intervention; a laissez-faire policy with emphasis upon commerce and services.

> The freedom the country had enjoyed was more a product of sectarian power-balance than a human right guaranteed by law and protected by legislation; it was an extension of a weak state structure.
>
> (Toubi, 1980: 98)

Lebanon became the hub for international finance and commerce with almost no state supervision. The country's scenery, the historical heritage and moderate climate encouraged tourism to become one of the backbones of the national economy. Lebanon began to be the link point between the west and the east economically and culturally. Even the appellation of Lebanon as "Switzerland of the East", which now sounds hollow and stale, is an indication when the nation flourished and progressed. Ironically, within the sectarian structure of the state and the laissez-faire of the economy, the Lebanese encountered a severe problem in the very "raison d'etre" of their newly created state.

> Indeed, the self-given function many Lebanese have attributed themselves - that of a "bridge" between East and West, of a "link" between Christianity and Islam, or of a "meeting point" between the desert and the sea, the Arabs and Europe, the Mediterranean and the continent - did not help much in forging a solid national identity. To view yourself as an organic intermediary was a way of giving third parties a say in shaping your personality and, actually, in the making of your future. ... This openness to the environment, established as a raison d'etre, was to become a very serious source of vulnerability in an area of conflicting nationalisms.
>
> (Salame', 198? : 4-5)

The economic prosperity was also associated with the rise of many ideological and sectarian-based political parties. They began to establish paramilitary groups (militias) to be the arm of the party often against state intervention.

> The presence of militias has always been an indicator of state weakness and a factor that contributes to the impotence of the central authority; this applies to all militias including those who claim to be protectors of the state and its interests. In fact, their claim is itself an admission of the state's weakness and lack of trust in the government.
>
> (Toubi, 1980: 99)

In 1958, one attempt was made to break the system; Christian and Muslim militias fought each other over the identity of Lebanon. The compromise solution was to come with "no victor, no vanquished". The event showed the fragility of the system and the need in a crisis to rely upon a foreign power - the US Marines - to restore peace and order. At the same time the final resolution of the crisis showed the need for compromise and moderation as a prerequisite to make the symbiosis work.

After a period of relative harmony and prosperity between the civil strife of 1958 and the Arab-Israeli war of 1967, matters began to go seriously amiss. This can be traced to many interweaving factors such as: (1) the growing discontent of some of the Arab states and the major part of the Lebanese Muslims concerning the vague stand of Lebanon towards the Arab-Israeli conflict; (2) the growing influence of the PLO in Lebanon after the 1969 incident in Jordan and removal of its militias and commands into Lebanon; (3) the growing socio-economic differences among the Lebanese communities; and (4) the change in the political atmosphere in the Middle East. All these, as well as other factors, paved the way to the recent civil war which started in 1975 [10].

> ... Lebanon had failed to develop an inner nucleus of sufficient extent to hold in orbit incompatible contending ideological and sectarian interests and ideals. Under pressure, centrifugal forces proved stronger than centripetal ones: Legitimization, loyalty to the whole, and consensus were outweighed by identifications that have been extranational as well as localist and communal; and even where loyalty existed, it tended to be abrasive and exclusivist in many respects and served to exacerbate opposition rather than to absorb and assimilate it.
>
> (Gordon, 1983: 113-114)

4.4.3 THE CIVIL WAR

The conflict in Lebanon is complex, multidimensional and therefore one that does not lend itself easily to simple nomenclature. It was referred to as the "war" (*al-harb*) by Christians, who fought in favour of the established regime, thus emphasizing that it is a Lebanese-Palestinian conflict and not a Lebanese-Lebanese one. It was known among the Muslims and leftists, who fought against the regime, as the "revolution" (*al-thawra*) to give it its Lebanese dimension. The Palestinians, who fought with the "rejectionists" of the regime, refer to the conflict as "civil war" (*harb ahliya*), thus labelling it a Lebanese-Lebanese conflict. Intermediaries in the conflict, including the government, refer to the conflict as "rebellion" or sometimes "internal war", thus vicariously avoiding embarrassing political commitments. There is confusion among observers and the actors alike as to what the real issues were.

> The battle is between the Palestinians and the Lebanese. No! It is between the Palestinians and the Christians. No! It is between Leftists and Rightists. No! It is between Israel and the Palestinians on Lebanese soil. No! It is between international imperialism and Zionism on the one hand, and Lebanon and neighboring states on the other.
>
> (Haddad, quoted in Gordon, 1983: 110)

However, terms are necessary to describe what has occurred. Arbitrarily in part, and without prejudging the interpretation of the conflict, the term "Civil War" will be employed because it has gained general currency. Confusion also rained concerning the nature of the civil war in Lebanon. It is a class conflict, especially for the slum dwellers of Beirut and the refugees of the war-torn South - against those who have greatly benefited from the established system. It is a communal struggle between Muslims and Christians, and an ideological and political war between left and right over constitutional reform.

> Alignments were based only partially upon class, religion, or ideology. This was not a class war, although class consciousness played a role in it; it was not a war of Christian against Muslim, although in terms of numbers on either side this would be true; and it was not a clash simply between left and right, although "leftist" and Marxist predominated on the one side. Even the term "Civil War" itself, some would argue, is a misnomer biased in favor of the view that the Lebanese system had collapsed because of internal flaws rather than because it had been attacked by extrinsic forces.
>
> (Gordon, 1983: 103)

Accurate and objective accounts of the civil war already exist such as Cobban (1983), Gordon (1983), Khaldi (1979) and Kliot (1986). Before 1975, the country was described as an excellent example of liberalism, symbiosis and a modernist state. Was not Lebanon, for example, a country which had achieved "Modernization Without Revolution?" (Salem, 1973). Was it not a country where the open and full recognition of deep communal cleavages had often promoted more harmonious social patterns than their minimisation? (Smock & Smock, 1975: 312). The same Lebanon, after 1975, has been a country for which the followings were written : "Death of a Country" (Bulloch, 1977); "God Cried" (Clifton: 1983); "The Fractured Nation" (Gilmour, 1983); "Lebanon the Injured Identity" (Salame', 198?); "Death of a Nation" (Mackey, 1989); "Tribes Without Flags" (Glass, 1990); "Pity the Nation" (Fisk, 1990); etc.

4.4.4 THE MATERIAL AND HUMAN COST OF THE CONFLICT

The conflict, in Lebanon, has passed through several developments and stages. It is only recently - after the Gulf war - when the military situation started to calm down and the central government started to take control. Open warfare has periodically raged, engulfing most parts of the country at one time or another, with Beirut being the main field of military action. Despite their many differences, the Lebanese have been homogenized in their experiences of terror, fear, misery, etc.

> Violence and terror have touched virtually everyone. They are everywhere and nowhere. They are everywhere because they can no longer be confined to one specific area or to a few combatants. They are nowhere because they cannot be identified or linked to one concrete cause. Recurring cycles of violence erupt, fade, and resurface again for no recognizable or coherent reason.
>
> (Khalaf, 1989: 20-21)

The tragic results of the conflict in both human and material terms, direct and indirect, are difficult to quantify. No reliable and complete statistics are yet available, but nevertheless the available figures give a picture of the misery and sufferance resulting from the crisis.

> Suffice it to recall that for the period up to and including the Israeli invasion of 1982, over 100,000 persons were killed and tens of thousands displaced, 100,000 housing units were destroyed, 400 industrial enterprises ruined or seriously damaged, 550 schools either totally or partly destroyed, and a large number of hospitals and medical facilities damaged.
>
> (Makdisi, 1987: 1)

Additionally, an unpublished report (Statistics on the Lebanese Crisis, 1984) shows that 5% of the nation population were kidnapped from 1975 to 1982. Moreover, during the year 1983 alone estimates reveal: 4,000 killed, 10,000 wounded, 800,000 (130,000 families) displaced - temporarily or permanently, and 60,000 houses totally or partly collapsed.

By 1989, even the most moderate estimates show that at least 150,000 have perished, twice as many have been wounded and disabled, and close to two-thirds of the population have been uprooted from their homes and communities (Khalaf, 1989: 10-11). For a small, dense and closely knit society of about 3.5 million and 10,452 km^2, such devastations are understandably menacing. In terms of damage in rural areas, the estimates indicate the following concerning three major areas of Lebanon:

Area	No. of Displaced Persons	No. of Damaged Villages
South Lebanon	300,000	261 of 326 villages; (7 completely destroyed)
Mount Lebanon	200,000	120 of 236 villages; (for details see Table 4.3)
North Lebanon	30,000	----------

Table 4.2: Number of Displaced People and Damaged Villages in Three Major Areas of Lebanon.
Source: compiled from Fa'our, 1988a: 95-120.

The damage assessment is only available for Mount Lebanon - the area of the fieldwork. It shows that out of 236 villages 120 have been destroyed in different degrees. The scale of damage could be classified as follows:

Damage Assessment	No. of Damaged Villages
Less than 25%	10
25% - 50%	34
50% - 75%	16
75% - 95%	23
Completely destroyed	37

Table 4.3: Assessment of Damaged Villages in Mount Lebanon in 1988. Source: compiled from Fa'our, 1988a: 110.

Less sensational but perhaps more damaging in the long run are the socio-psychological problems of the traumatic experience [11]. These problems are difficult to quantify and are multifaceted, but the most important ones could be summarized into four issues. Firstly, the partly sectarian nature of the conflict has weakened the national bond among Lebanese and led not only to an intensification of sectarian feelings but also to the *de facto* partition of many parts of the country along sectarian lines. Estimates indicate that 19.4% of families living in Lebanon representing 17.8% of the entire population (about 3.5 millions) were considered as permanently displaced people (Fa'our, 1988a: 97). The patterns of displacement - rural to urban or urban to rural or within the same area but to a safer area - have been directly related to the development of the conflict [12].

Secondly, a gradual adaptive process, over the last 16 years of civil war, whereby some of the appalling features of conflict are being normalized. To paraphrase Judith Shklar (1982), they are transformed into an "ordinary vice"; something that, although horrible, is expectable (Fig. 4.3). Moreover, a "Kalashnikov generation" has been raised that knows little more than the violence of the street and the aggravation of sectarian hostilities.

> The daily body count was greeted with the same matter-of-factnes of a weather forecast. Fallen bodies, kidnapped victims and other casualties of indiscriminate violence became, as it were, the barometer by which a besieged society measured its daily cycles ... Children's games, their languages, their cognitive and playful interests were all warlike in tone and substance. ... All their daily routines and conventional modes of behaviour - their schooling, eating and sleeping habits, playgrounds, encounters with others, perceptions, daydreams and nightmares, their heroes and role models, etc ... - have all been inexorably wrapped up in the omnipresence of death.
>
> (Khalaf, 1989: 13)

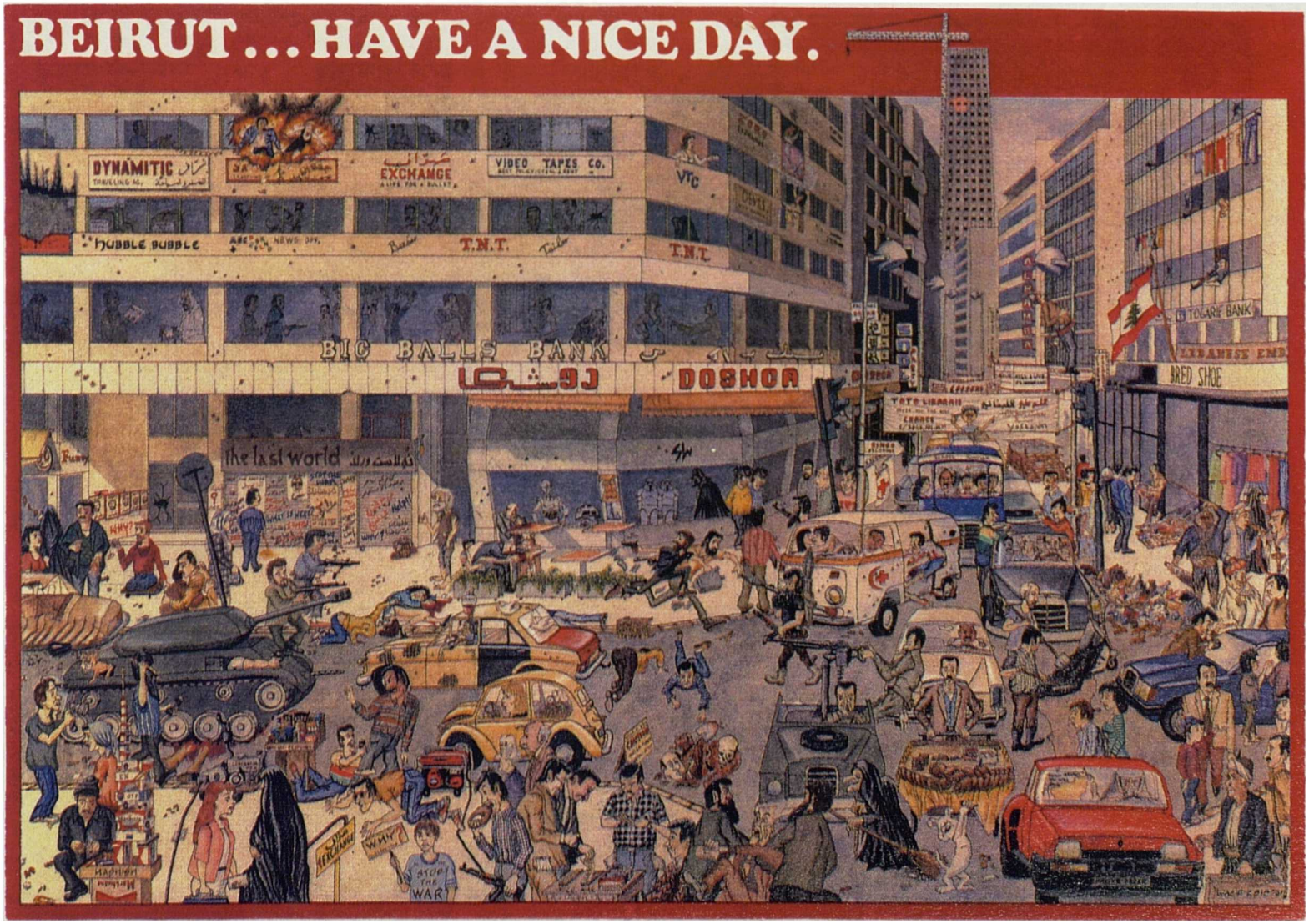


Fig. 4.3: The War as a Way of Life in Lebanon.
Source: Artist W. Zabib, 1987: Jaw Art Ltd (poster).

Thirdly, Living with contingency and chronic fear has, over the years, sharpened and enriched the coping mechanisms of the Lebanese (Fig. 4.4). Perhaps they have become much too adaptable at coping with constraints. Ironically, in a country where violence has become a way of life and the only voice to be heard, the innocents are powerless and besieged in a vicious circle. They are also deprive of expression.

> Victims of cruelty, people who are suffering, do not have much in the way of language. That is why there is no such thing as the "voice of the oppressed" or the "language of the victims". The language once used is not working anymore, and they are suffering too much to put new words together. So the job of putting their situation into language is going to have to be done for them by somebody else.
>
> (Rorty; quoted in Khalaf, 1989: 21)

In a way the majority or the innocents have been homogenized by terror and grief. On the other, they have been divided and become powerless, speechless and confused about the real reason of their misery. Maybe this is the reason why they could not, over the 16 years, direct or mobilize their anguish towards recognized targets.

4.5 HOUSING AND RECONSTRUCTION

4.5.1 THE CITY AND THE VILLAGE

The political and economic importance of Beirut, started in the 19th century, was reinforced after Independence in 1943. It became the capital and the centre of economic, administrative and political affairs of the country. Shortly before 1975, Greater Beirut was probably absorbing 75% of Lebanon's urban population and close to 45% of the inhabitants of the country. In addition, its already choking 101 km^2 had to accommodate an estimated 120,000 daily commuters from adjoining areas (Khayyat, 1984: 52-53). The increase of the capital's population, before the civil war was the result of three reasons. The first was the internal movements from rural areas to the city as a result of centralization and lack of a comprehensive rural development plan. The second reason was the external movements of refugees - mainly Armenians, Kurds, Palestinians - seeking

Damaged Buildings Used as Shelter by Dispalced People

Dwelling Built by a Displaced Family

Water Provision

Lack of Safety Measures Inside Damaged Buildings

An Open Office Space Converted into Accommodation

Fig. 4.4: Coping with Adversity During the War in Lebanon. Source: Author, 1988.

shelter, jobs and a place to live within the "unchecked" liberal atmosphere of Lebanon. The third reason was the natural population growth which was estimated to be 4% by the early 1970 implying that the population of Beirut would double every 20 years (Khalaf, 1983: 18).

However, without government intervention and domination of the private sector over the housing market, squatters settlements - misery belts - started to grow offering the only alternative for housing with all the familiar social, economic and physical problems of rural migration to the cities [13]. In the process, a sharp difference had emerged between rich and poor, urban and rural, modern and the traditional (Fig. 4.5). One needed only to compare the impoverished periphery of Beirut with the luxury hotels, beaches, and cabarets.

> She is a country of contrasts, all of which contribute to her charm. She is an implausible mixture of the old and new, West and East, Moslem and Christian, calm and excitement, black veils and bikinis, rich and poor, despair and hope.
>
> (Abercrombie, 1958: 523)

With the shadow of the civil war, huge damage has been inflicted on rural and urban areas, especially the capital Beirut. The town centre was completely destroyed and the city came to be divided, along the "Green Line", into two parts: the West controlled by Muslims and the East dominated by Christians (Fig. 4.6). Despite the intensity of military actions among the different militias in Beirut, it attracted more displaced people than any other area. This could be for two main reasons; the first is that:

> although clashes were fiercest in the city, people still chose to migrate to it from the countryside. The reason for this puzzling situation is that there was a balance between the fighting groups in Beirut, but not elsewhere; consequently, small clashes in the countryside seem to have generated more lasting effects of migration than in the city.
>
> (Toubi, 1980: 104)

The second is the military intervention of Israel in the South of Lebanon which pushed waves of Muslim families of rural farming background to West Beirut (Table 4.4).

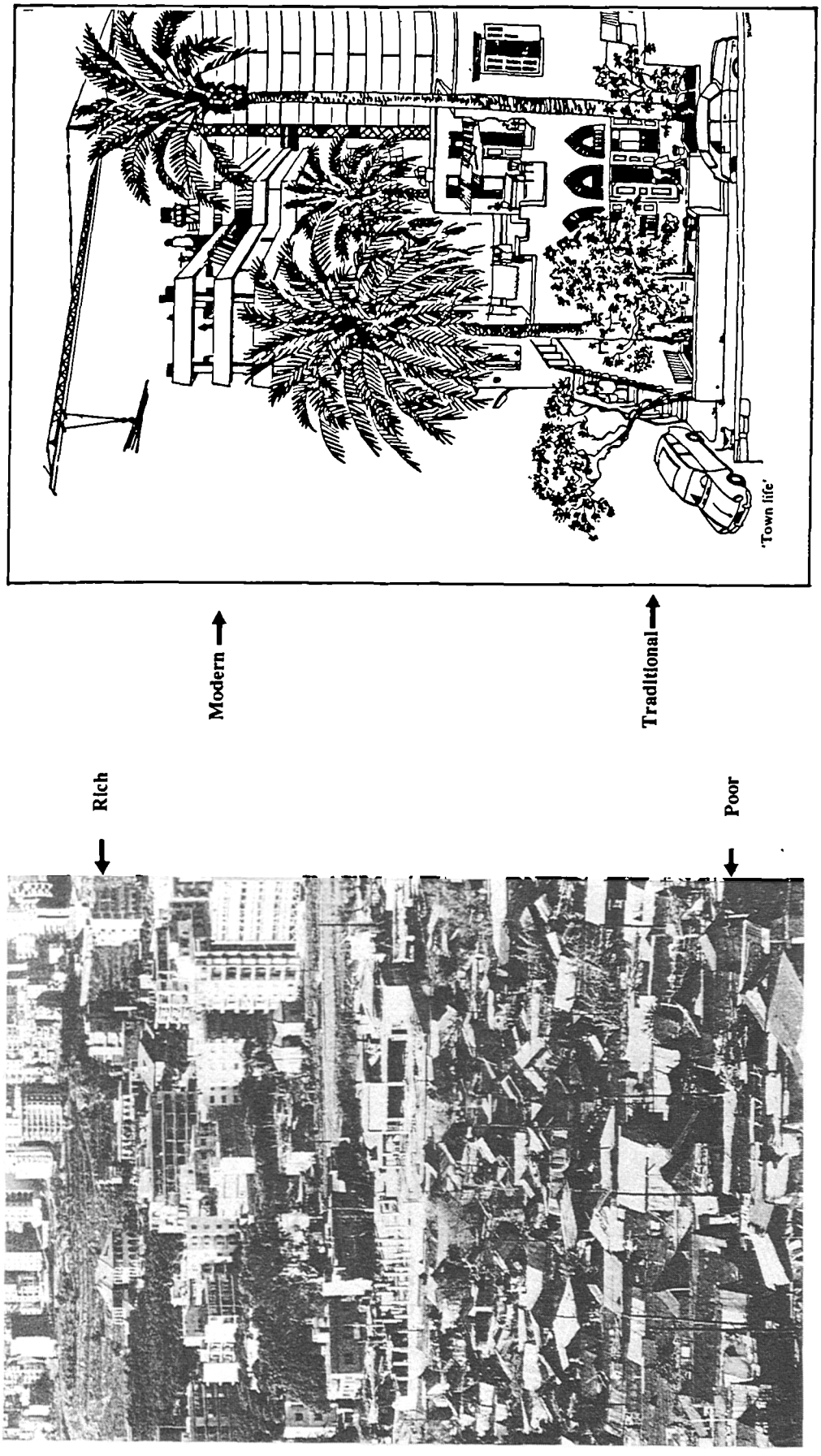
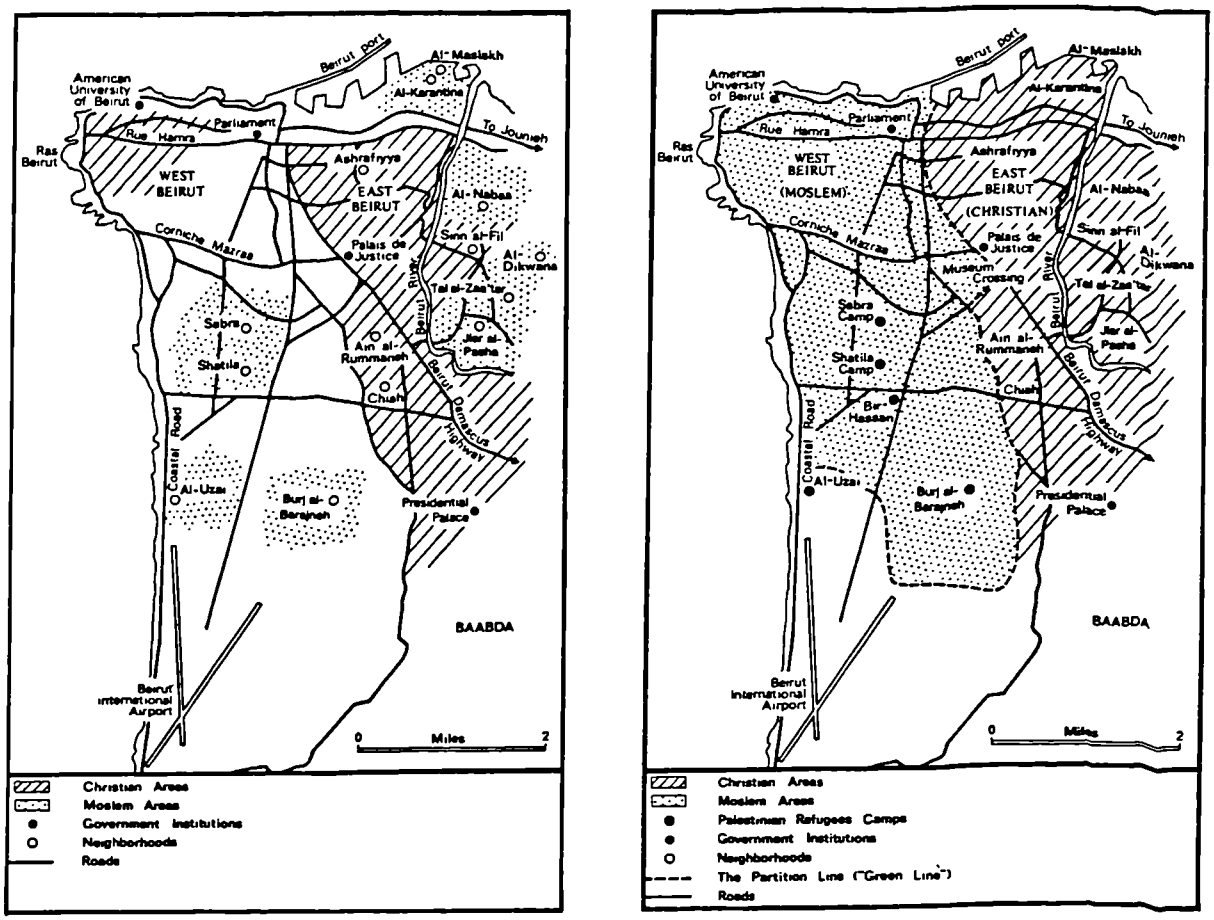


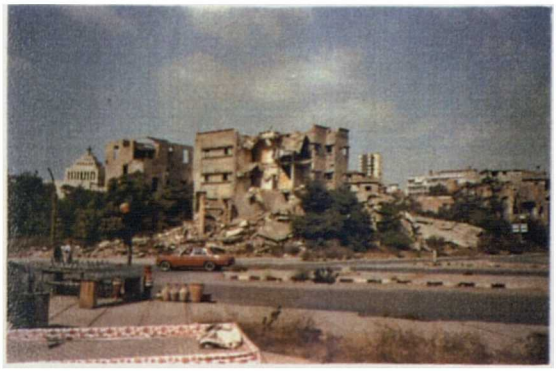
Fig. 4.5: Lebanon a Country of Contrasts.
Source: Cobban, 1983: 60 & 76.



Clifton (1983: 7) Describes the Green Line: This an imaginary dividing line in the Musuem area which was the crossing point and is became the barometer of the town. When you saw this area suddenly deserted of people you know there was a sniper in the area or an impending battle was about to ensue. You quickly learnt the animal wisdom of being a street-wise and put it immediately into practice, other wise you would quickly become another statistic.

There was a rich mythology to the Green Line. Its name had merely been an administrative one, but the water mainy were ruptured during the fighting, and much of it really did turn green. ... well, the civil war is over at least at time of writing... The Green Line will perhabs wholly become folklore at last. (Haden-Guest, 1991)

Fig. 4.6: Division of Beirut Along the Green Line.
Source: Kliot, 1986: 16-17.



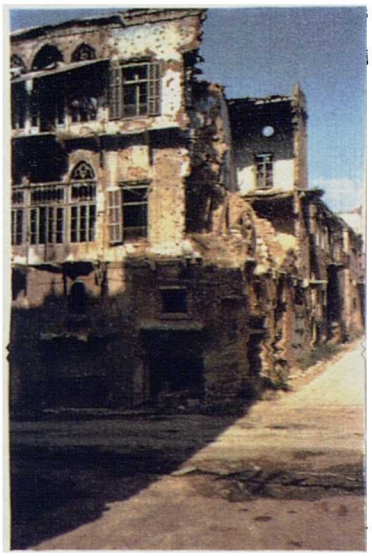


Fig. 4.6 (cont'd): Division of Beirut Along the Green Line (Views of Damage). Source: Author, 1991.

Direction	Beirut East & suburbs	Beirut West & suburbs
Outgoing	110,000	75,000
Ingoing	125,000	340,000
Increase	15,000	235,000

Table 4.4: Number of Displaced People in the Two Parts of Beirut.
Source: Nasr, 1983: 329.

The conflict has accelerated the growth of squatter settlements, and further aggravated already existing social and housing problems. Urban centres, especially Beirut, have experienced unchecked population growth without the construction of necessary urban infrastructure. Housing shortages, illegal occupancy of private and public property, and deteriorating health and social conditions have emerged as pressing issues [14].

The most salient urbanization features of Lebanon, in the pre-war period and during the conflict, could be summarized into three points. The first point is the uneven distribution of its population: while the country had an overall density of 300 persons/km^2, density reached 27,000 persons/km^2 in Beirut governate but diminishes to 123 in al-Bekaa. In other governates the density is: the South, 324; the North 484, Mount Lebanon 1,106 (no estimates for an Nabatiyah created in 1975) (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1984: 766) [15].

The second point is the survival of communal traditional loyalties, (Gulick, 1967; Khalaf and Kongstad, 1973; Khuri, 1975). Urbanization as a physical phenomena has not been associated by a proportional degree of "urbanism" as a way of life. In this sense, rural migrants to the city are in the city but not of the city.

> ... city life is predominantly conceived as a transient encounter to be sustained by periodic visits to rural areas, or through the development of rural networks within urban areas. Accordingly urbanization in Lebanon has not meant the erosion of kinship ties, communal loyalties, and confessional affinities and the emergence of impersonality, anonymity, and transitory social relations.
>
> (Khalaf, 1987: 221)

The third point is the clear demonstration of the weak executive power of the government to control the haphazard and unguided growth of urban centres. The few attempted planning schemes of Beirut remained blueprints, and building codes and legislation have been violated intensively. This is not at all surprising. In a political culture like Lebanon where hierarchy, rank, patronage, and market forces are influential; zoning and planning norms are apt to be violated (Khalaf, 1987: 215-237; Salam, 1973: 109-120; Johnson, 1986 & 1988).

4.5.2 HOUSING SCENE

The housing sector is dominated by the private sector which makes it extremely sensitive to the influence of a variety of factors, events and circumstances. Its vulnerability is further emphasized by the strong inclination towards speculation in the market and the absence of any national policy that is capable of imposing some limits on its unbounded freedom.

> It would be fruitless to depend too confidently on the mechanisms and flexibility of the free market if the success of the housing policy is to be measured by its ability to meet the requirements of citizens of a variety of income levels.
>
> (UNECWA, 1977: 3)

Since 1965, according to the UNECWA study, the rate of construction in relation to the population did not exceed 6 dwellings per thousand persons (annual average = 11,918 dwellings between 1965- 1975). This is a low proportion considering that the volume of investments, and that the ratio of building investments to gross national product (GNP) somewhat exceeded the figure of 9% which is rather high. The reason for this discrepancy is that the trend of investment in building moved more and more towards luxury buildings (as defined by the Rent Law). The proportion of luxury dwellings constructed rose from 6% thirty years ago to 21% for the period 1965-70, to around 25% for 1970-75. Thus large costly dwellings, beyond the reach of all but the high-income bracket, were being constructed.

The UNECWA statistics (1977, 3) also reveal, in 1970, that the population reached approximately 2,126,000 inhabitants of whom 44.2% lived in Beirut and its suburbs. Total number of dwellings in Lebanon was estimated at 484,000 of which 396,000 were occupied "primary" dwellings, 37,000 were vacant and 51,000 were "secondary" dwellings. The specifications of the occupied primary dwellings and the information available on their occupants revealed the following:

- about 8,000 households lived in slums (shacks);
- about 9,500 households shared a dwelling with another family;
- 40% of the households lived in dwellings composed of one or two main rooms only; of these 40%, there were 60,000 households (with an average of more than 4 members each) lived in dwellings consisting of one main room and 96,000 households (of an average of more than 5 members each) lived in dwellings composed of two main rooms.

Thus, 42% of all households in Lebanon (166,000) or 56% of the population (1,190,000) lived in crowded dwellings - that is, with more than two persons per room. While the demand on housing in Beirut, as a result of rural migration and other factors, was too high, rural and other urban areas were characterized by high percentage of vacant buildings. Such housing was usually transformed into secondary dwellings which the owners occupy during the summer period. This accounts for the high proportion of unoccupied houses in the countryside as compared to primary dwellings in the area.

Area	Urban	Rural
Mount Lebanon	5.68%	13.66%
North Lebanon	8.43%	14.15%
South Lebanon	8.44%	12.65%
Bekaa	7.46%	10.87%

Table 4.5: Unoccupied Dwellings in Proportion to Primary Dwellings in Lebanon in 1970.
Source: UNECWA, 1977: 11.

In order to complete the picture of the housing situation in Lebanon, an indication should be given of the number of dwellings lacking basic amenities such as kitchen, toilet, bath room, water, electricity, etc. The figures towards the end of 1970 were as follows:

State of Dwelling	All Lebanon	Rural Areas
Lacking kitchen	62,000	48,000
Lacking bathroom	123,000	79,000
Lacking toilet	45,000	41,000
Outdoor or shared Toilet	45,000	23,000
Lacking running water	68,000	53,000
Lacking electricity	26,000	22,000

Table 4.6: Dwellings Lacking Basic Amenities in Lebanon in 1970.
Source: UNECWA, 1977: 5.

Additionally in the same study of (UNECWA), Lebanon's additional housing needs were estimated at 400,000 units between 1978-2000. The cost of building these units had been estimated at around LL 3,000 million a year in 1982 prices. The study took into account a variety of needs (Table 4.7).

Needs	Units
Shortage	110,000
Replacement of older dwellings	50,000
Slum clearance	8,000
Population increase	228,000
Total	400,000

Table 4.7: Housing Needs in Lebanon for the Period 1978-2000.
Source: UNECWA, 1977: 13.

While these figures are indicative of the housing problem which Lebanon faced in the mid-Seventies, the problem in Lebanon has been further aggravated, especially in Beirut, with destruction and damages inflicted on rural and urban areas, and the waves of homeless displaced people. Despite the modest intervention of the government resulting from growing social pressure, through establishing different institutions [16], the impact has not

been effective in curbing the housing crisis. This is mainly due to the lack of finance, the unpredictable political situation, the lack of a comprehensive housing policy, the inadequate rent law and legislation, and the bureaucratic procedures of these institutions in which clientelism and connection (*waasta*) play a major role [17].

4.5.3 RECONSTRUCTION

At the beginning of 1977, the Lebanese government established the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR). It was entrusted with the task of preparing and following up the implementation of an overall reconstruction and development plan to overcome the ravages of the 1975-76 hostilities. The CDR was granted unprecedented powers, particularly in financial matters. It was also entrusted with the task of negotiating external technical and economic assistance agreements.

In December 1978, the CDR completed the preparation of an 8-year reconstruction plan which gave priority to the repair of damaged houses, the provision of basic services and the upgrading of infrastructure. In view of the shortage of funds, the various constraints - economic, political and military - on the implementation of the reconstruction plan, the plan was revised in 1980 and 1983, with priority given to basic projects. The total investment envisaged under the different plans amounted as follows:

Year of Plan	Cost in LL billion	Period
1978	22	1978-1986
1980	01	one year
1983	62,2	1983-1991

Table 4.8: Revised Cost of Reconstruction Plan in Lebanon
Source: compiled from Iskandar & Baroudi, 1984: 323-357.

The reconstruction bill has increased with the development of the military hostilities. A report prepared by Hariri Foundation (1987) determines the basic steps for development and rehabilitation of all Lebanon. This report puts the total cost of the projects of a five year-plan at 1305.35 million $ where the rate of the dollar at the time of the data collection (7/7/86- 18/1/87) was 45 LL. Figure (4.7) and Table (4.9) show a summary of the proposed five year-plan and its cost.

With the recent hope for a lasting peace in Lebanon, after the Gulf War, the moderate estimates of reconstruction was put at $15 billion at the end of 1990 and will need about ten years to be completed in favourable political, economic and technical conditions (Sbeyti, 1991: 11). In June 1991, the CDR signed an agreement with Bechtel (an American company) and Dar al-Handash (a Lebanese company) at a cost of $7 million to prepare a comprehensive and complete economic and physical reconstruction plan.

This hope was also associated with a conference on reconstruction of Lebanon jointly organized by the American University of Beirut and CDR. It was recognized that reconstruction should overcome the following hurdles: (1) the deficiency in trained manpower; (2) the lack of financial and technical resources; and (3) the lack of an appropriate administrative system and infrastructure networks (ad-Deyar, 1991: 8). The recommendations of the conference are wide raging which recognized the following:

- the need of technical training for the short and long term and attracting a new skilled people;
- a short term reconstruction of infrastructure to enable the initiation of reconstruction followed by a long term reconstruction to keep pace with future needs;
- until the complete and final reconstruction of the administration, a sensitive political issue as it is related to distribution of power, resources, etc., it is necessary to reactivate the administration of the essential sectors (electricity, water, transport, housing, health, etc.) and to remove the obstacles facing the execution of the basic projects; and

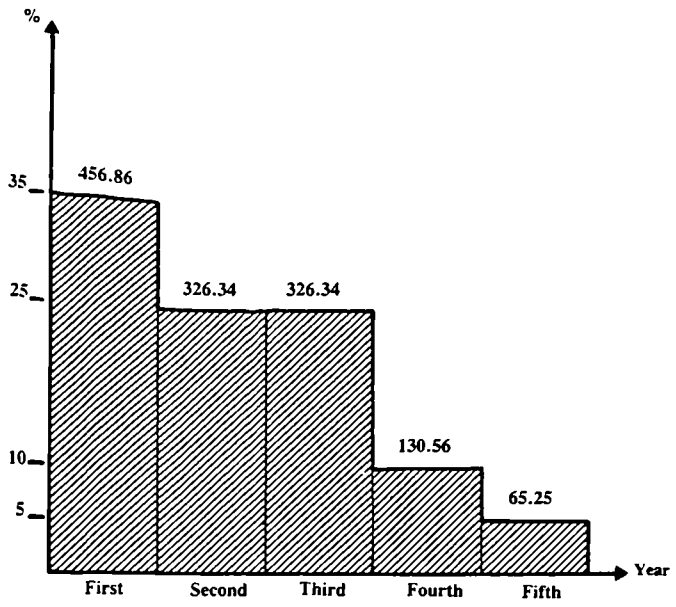


Fig. 4.7: Distribution of Total Cost for a Five-Year Period of Rehabilitation and Development of Lebanon.
Source: Hariri Foundation, 1987: xvi.

Year / Projects	1st Year 35%	2nd Year 25%	3rd Year 25%	4th Year 10%	5th Year 5%	Total
Domestic and irrigation water	38.60	27.57	27.57	11.03	5.51	**110.28**
Sewers and storm water drainage	71.48	51.06	51.06	20.42	10.21	**204.23**
Roads	101.66	72.62	72.62	29.05	14.52	**290.47**
Schools	44.41	31.72	31.72	12.69	6.35	**126.89**
Garbage incinerators + Slaughter houses	30.81	22.01	22.01	8.80	4.40	**88.03**
Health centers + Ambulances + Fire departments	55.26	39.47	39.47	15.79	7.89	**157.89**
Electricity + Telephone	66.70	47.64	47.64	19.06	9.53	**190.57**
Agricultural + Industrial needs + Artisana	14.97	10.70	10.70	4.28	2.14	**42.78**
Libraries + Cultural, social and athletic clubs + Touristic centers	21.95	15.68	15.68	6.28	3.13	**62.72**
Public parks	11.02	7.87	7.87	3.16	1.57	**31.49**
Total	**456.86**	**326.34**	**326.34**	**130.56**	**65.25**	**1305.35**

Table 4.9: Proposed Work Plan and Cost Distribution for Reconstruction in Lebanon (million $ US).
Source: Hariri Foundation, 1987: xvii.

- the need to involve the private sector, in and outside the country, as well as the different institutions - international, national, local, etc. in the course of reconstruction. This should be done through the following: (1) reconstruction of the financial sector; (2) reactivation and modernization of the financial institutions which deal with middle and long term loans; and (3) the work on mobilizing external financial resources.

Therefore, reconstruction should be multifaceted and concur on four different levels as a prerequisite for a comprehensive rebuilding. This had been clearly expressed by Sbeyti (1991: 11) who recognized the needs for: (1) reconstruction of the Lebanese economy; (2) reconstruction of government institutions; (3) reconstruction of government's finance system and revaluation of the Lebanese Pound; and (4) a complete survey of the damages since 1975 and what has been repaired, and schedule priority for the basic project in order to establish a yearly implementation plan.

It could seem that reconstruction of Lebanon is virtually impossible given the accumulated problems of the last 16 years. However one essential element, to paraphrase Sbeyti words, should be the guide of the reconstruction which is the sincere co-operation among the Lebanese. Reconstruction of damaged Lebanon (Fig. 4.8) should rebuild "unified new Lebanon" not different "Lebanons". It should be a process of restructuring, not merely of reconstitution.

4.5.4 VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION IN LEBANON

Apart from the initiatives, above mentioned, concerning reconstruction on the national level, many international and national agencies have been involved on the local level in terms of relief, support and providing shelter. Documentation about rural reconstruction in Lebanon is scarce. But Crouch (1979: 126-129) provides a summary of a pilot reconstruction programme in two villages: Aintoura and Tarshish. The programme was carried out, in 1977, by a small local agency (CAMA) [18]. Both villages are about 30 km

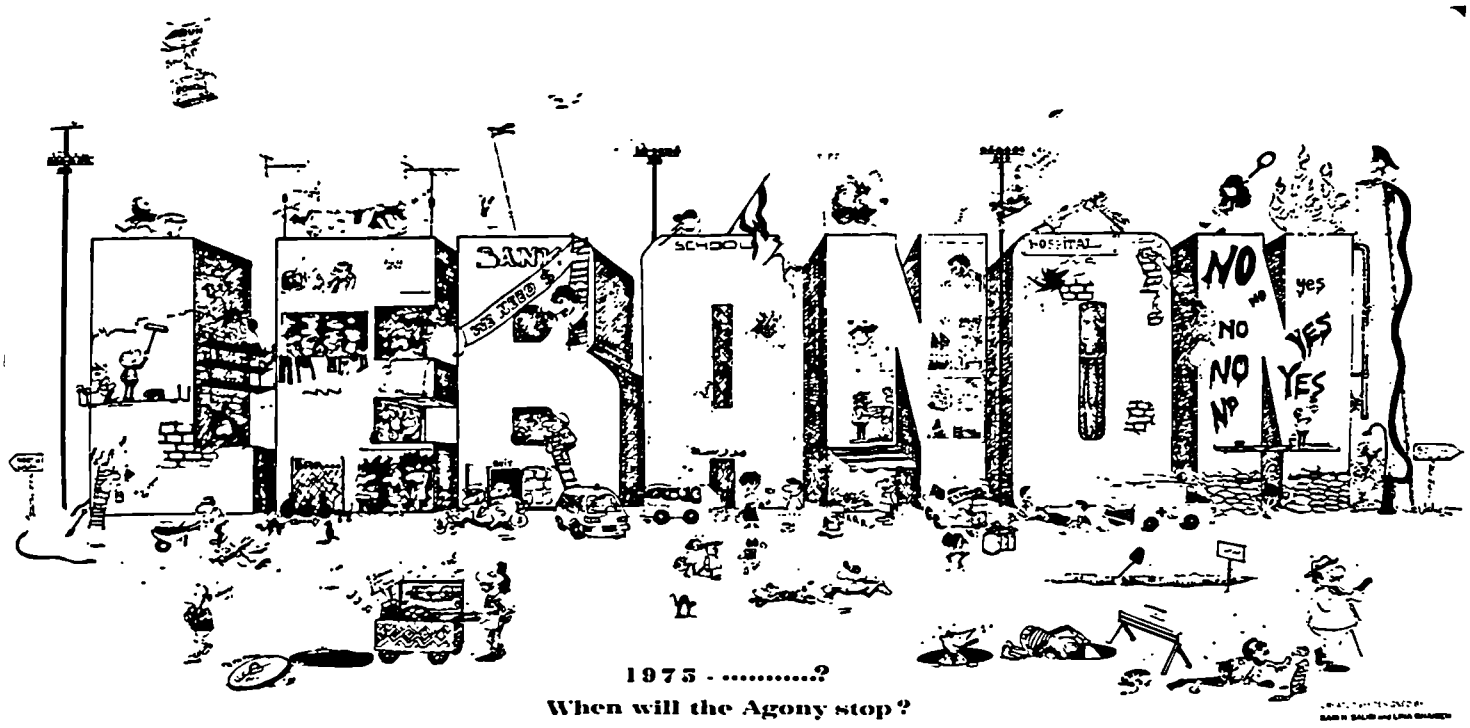


Fig. 4.8: Reconstruction of "Damaged Lebanon".
Source: Poster designed by S. Salibi & L. Ghaibeh.

east of Beirut in the mountains. The first village is entirely Christian. The second, however, is part Christian and part Muslim. In May 1978 only Christian families were able to return to their homes but "they all expressed a strong desire to see their Muslim neighbours returning to the village". The lessons learnt from the two projects, according to Crouch, are:

> **1.** Reconstruction work has a multiplier effect. When people see it taking place they tend to want to join the process.
>
> **2.** In many countries we should recognise that it is necessary to re-establish housing in order to enable other economic activity to recover. In the case of the Lebanese villages agricultural activity could not recover until people had houses in which to shelter and in which to store tools and produce.
>
> **3.** There is a need for a very strong leadership by Project Officers who must also provide effective supervision of the work and an accurate assessment of needs.
>
> **4.** There is a need for an element of community development work to accompany reconstruction.
>
> **5.** There is a need for families to initiate repair work and do as much as possible themselves.
>
> **6.** Building materials and household fittings can be recovered from ruined buildings.
>
> **7.** Initially repairs should provide families with the minimum number of rooms that are necessary.
>
> **8.** It is essential to use local Project Officers to assess needs and supervise operations and to use local skills in reconstruction and construct in the local manner.
>
> **9.** There is a need to recognise cultural and political arrangements of the community where the work is taking place.
>
> (Crouch, 1978: 127-128)

This approach to reconstruction seems to be extremely appropriate to the small and relatively poor villages. However no details were given about how the community was organized and the cultural aspects of the dwelling. Moreover, the article was written at the beginning of the project and no evaluation of the programme is available to measure its success in the long run.

4.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter, natural and man-made geographical features of Lebanon were presented with a view to understanding their effects on the production of the built environment. This presentation should be seen in the light of the lack of updated statistics, and the complexity and the sensitivity of some of the issues which posed many difficulties. Further, problems about time frame arose in some cases, and therefore, pre-war and war periods were discussed wherever necessary.

Physical features, socio-economic conditions, historical accounts, and administrative and political structures were described and analyzed. This was aimed to provide a context in which the following issues were discussed:

- Urbanization process: rural-urban relationships, problems.
- Housing in Lebanon: conditions, needs, main actors.
- Effects of the war: damages and displacements, socio-psychological problems.
- Reconstruction: initiatives (private and public), issues, cost and needs.

Prior to the civil war in Lebanon, lack of a comprehensive housing policy, inappropriate government intervention and laissez-faire economy had negative impacts on the housing sector which was completely left in the hands of the private speculative sector. As a result, acute housing problems were facing Lebanon. These problems have been further exacerbated by the destruction of the last sixteen years.

Examining the socio-economic and political conditions of Lebanon reveal that future reconstruction should carefully address these conditions in order to achieve optimum results. It should be a development process in which socio-economic and political reconstruction should also be implemented. It is a process which does not concentrate only on a mere physical reconstruction. Within the macro national context of Lebanon, rural areas are facing peculiar problems and conditions. Thus, a review of these problems and conditions is imperative to plan for reconstruction of the war-damaged villages. This review is the task of the next chapter.

NOTES

For full details about the studies mentioned here see references.

[1] **Beirut; Lebanon:** The word Beirut is derived from the Canaanite name of Be'erot (wells), referring to the underground water-table which is still tapped by the local inhabitants for general use. The word Lebanon means "white as milk" and refers to the snow-capped peaks of the Lebanon Mountains, which are white in colour for about half of the year.

[2] **Physical Geography:** refer to the following concerning:
- Site and Land: Wahibeh (1966); Abou-El-Enin (1973); Fadal-Allah (1983).
- Climate: Fayed (1972); Ministere des Travaux Publics et des Transports (1973).

[3] **Demography:** For details see: Chamie (1980); UNECWA (1980); Farah (1982); Soffer (1985).

[4] **Lessaiz-Faire economy:** Further details concerning the development of Lebanon economy in the pre-war period (19th century - 1943) consult: Bridge (1975); Fawaz (1983); Shehadi (1987); Gates (1989); Buheiry (198?).

[5] **Observation upon the economy:** This quotation is attributed to Paul Van Zeeland, a Belgian economist, who visited Lebanon during the Fifties to advise the government upon the state of the economy. The observation is quoted in Ellis (1970) & Shehadi (1987).

[6] **Economic conditions during the war:** refer to Iskandar & Baroudi (1982 & 1984); Makdisi (1987); Saidi (198?).

[7] **Phoenicians:** There has been much argument among scholars as to the origin of the name of the Phoenicians. Some relate it to the Canaanite term denoting the highly valued purple dye which the ancient inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon used to extract from the sea mollusc called murex. In Greek, Phoenix refers to the fabulous "bird of palm in Arabia" which, as it aged, set itself on fire then re-emerged in full youthful vigour from its own ashes. Also, in ancient Arabian mythology the "Faniq" - the sacred and inviolate bull- was once worshipped as a divine being (Salibi, 1988a: 172-73).

[8] **Historical Syria:** It is the larger region which includes the sovereign states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel. This means that historical Syria or Bilad-al-Sham are used as historical statements and not as a political one (Hourani, 198?:3).

[9] **Sectarian mathematical formulae:** the 1933 census, the first and the last to be conducted in Lebanon (under the French Mandate), indicated that the total Muslim population of the country was Five-sixths of the total Christian population, despite demographic changes which are in favour of the Muslim communities. This is the reason that the total number of parliamentary seats has always been a factor of 11 (five Muslim, six Christian), changing form 44, to 55 to 66 to 77 to 99.

[10] **Civil war:** For discussion of the historical dimension of the conflict see: Faris (1982); Hourani (198?) and for regional and foreign dimension consult: Kelidar & Burrell (1976); Salibi (1976, 1988b); Hitti (1989); Deeb (1980).

[11] **Traumatic experiences of the war:** for details see: Hatab (1982); Atat (1987); Makki (1987).

[12] **Displacements:** refer to the following: Fa'our (1981 & 1991); CDR (1983); Nasr (1983 & 1987).

[13] **Squatter settlements in the pre-war period:** Consult Bourgey & Fhares (1973).

[14] **Squatter settlements during the war:** Consult the following studies: CDR (1983); Charafeddine (1985); Hamadeh (1987); Fa'our (1988b); El-Masri (1988 & 1989); Isaa (1983).

[15] **Administration:** Lebanon consists of six governates (*muhafazat*). These are administered by the Ministry of interior through the governor (*muhafiz*), who represents the central government in the region. The governates are further divided into districts (*qadas*), each of which is presided over by district chief (*qa'im maqam*), who, along with the governor, supervises local government in his respective region. Municipalities (communities with at least 500 inhabitants) elect mayors and vice mayors. Villages and towns (more than 50 and fewer than 500 inhabitants) elect a headman (*mukhtar*) and a council of elders, who serve on an honorary basis.

[16] **Government efforts to alleviate the housing problem:** These efforts could be summarized in the following:
- Loans for Repair of Damaged Houses.
- The Autonomous Housing Fund.
- The Housing Bank.
- The Public Authority for Housing and the New Housing Policy.
- The New Rental Law.
- Proposal for a New Policy Govering Land Ownership.

For further reading refer to iskandar & baroudi, 1984: 70-82.

[17] **Housing problems in Lebanon:** For further reading consult: UNECWA (1977); Khayyat (1984: 100-134); Mohsen (1987); Sasin (1987); as-Safir (1991).

[18] **CAMA:** Crouch (1979) mentions CAMA, a local relief organization, which helped people to rebuild their houses. He did not explain what the abbreviation of CAMA stands for.

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CHAPTER FIVE:

SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE TRADITION AND CHANGE

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE: TRADITION AND CHANGE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The pattern of habitation, a material trait of culture, is the product of a complex and dynamic process of interaction between social and physical conditions. Therefore, the need for careful study of these conditions is essential before a successful reconstruction programme can be initiated. The interaction between social and physical conditions could be well expressed in the case of traditional architecture and indigenous systems of planning, which are the outcome of a long standing process of refinement and adjustment.

> The traditional housing and settlement forms, and their associated social and cultural patterns, should be seen as the point of departure rather than being ignored.
>
> (Rapoport, 1973: 16)

However, any plan for reconstruction based only on the traditional dimension negates the dynamism of the built environment. It neglects the undergoing social, economic, and physical changes which are the results from the modernization process. This is specially true for Lebanese villages which since the turn of this century, have been under a rapid process of social and physical change. Thus, it is equally important to study the cultural patterns of village life *under transformation.*

The theme of this chapter is the Lebanese village: social and physical aspects forming its two main parts. Briefly, the aim of this chapter is to answer the following questions:

- What are the traditional foundations of the Lebanese village?
- How, and to what degree, has its tradition been altered by cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries up to the beginning of the civil war of 1975?
- What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

In a country composed of a variety of religious sects, an important issue could be raised concerning the social and physical typicality of Lebanese villages. Despite the Lebanese saying: "every tree has its own shadow, and every village has its own customs" [1], the

traditional foundations, fundamental and central in shaping the village life, override the specific and religious aspects of the different areas. From the social point of view, an answer could be found in the following:

> ... though clear doctrinal differences do exist between these two religious systems [Islam and Christianity] and though the hostility between them is of such intensity in Lebanon that open violence is a common occurrence, these differences in beliefs do not manifest themselves significantly in attitudinal or behavioral terms. Differences in religion, insofar as they affect orientations and philosophies toward life in general, tend to be overridden and rendered insignificantly by the wider impact of Arab culture generally and the historical-economic-geographical concomitants of rural Lebanese life in particular.
>
> (Fetter, 1964: 48)

Form the physical point of view, Lebanese villages exhibit relatively similar features, layouts and house forms. A clear answer could be found in Ragette:

> looking at the distribution of housetypes in Lebanon one is surprised that the composition of the country of a predominantly Christian northern part and a predominantly Druze and Muslim southern part is not expressed in the architecture. The religious affiliation of a family cannot easily be deduced from its habitation. An explanation may be that the conditions of life in the mountains were essentially the same for all religious communities. The theoretically different standing of Moslem women did not manifest itself very much because Christians and Druzes also adhered to a strongly paternalistic family structure.
>
> (Ragette, 1980: 179)

This can point only to an interpretive conclusion which strongly suggests that the combined economic and geographical realities of the Lebanese rural areas, as well as the broader elements of Arab village culture shared by both groups, outweigh differences in religious doctrine and force religion into the category of subordinate factors to these more central ones.

5.2 TRADITION UNDER CHANGE

There have been a remarkable number of social studies conducted about the Lebanese village [2]. They fall, despite the difficulty of classification of such studies, into two categories: either they describe the general aspects of village life that are typical and

common, or they concentrate on certain aspects of the culture as units of study (conflict, the family, social mobility, education, the village and the city, etc.) define certain changes which have been introduced into each of them, and evaluate the degree to which there has been displacement of older patterns [3].

These studies reveal, directly or indirectly, that traditionally the villagers have succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. This was achieved over many centuries of adjustment to the peculiar physical and societal environment of rural areas. Hence, these areas are the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage which was transmitted through the traditions, mores and folkways. By culture we mean: "the totality of learned, and socially transmitted values, meanings, products and patterns of behaviour of a social group" (Aysan & Oliver, 1987: 66).

Since the mid 19th century, the Lebanese village has been undergoing a process of change in its social and physical structures. The process of change, which was slow at its outsets, has gained momentum after Independence from France (1943) [4]. Consequently, the isolated, traditional and homogeneous villages have started to be connected to and influenced by urban centres. The village is no more an "island unto itself" as many villages have now become urbanized or have become part of urban provinces, such as Mount Lebanon (Antoun & Harik, 1972: 8). Briefly, the underlying forces, discussed by Murr (1987: 161-189), that were responsible for the disruption of village culture occurred through the following trends:

- The political and administrative integration of the village into the State structure after Independence (1943).
- Mass migration from rural areas to urban centres and abroad.
- Rapid development of education and the spread of literacy.
- Expansion of rural economic activities to the city and outside markets.
- Introduction on various levels and degrees of modern technology and efficient means of transportation and communication.

These trends, with many others interacting concurrently with them, have drawn a significant proportion of villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. Views about this group are tremendously varied; while Antoun (1972: 8) considers such group as a means to "bridge the gap between the two locales". Gulick (1954: 306) sees this group "as being caught in a network of conflicting forces"; it is unable to participate fully in urban or village social life to the extent which is socially, emotionally and economically satisfying to it. However, this group has been responsible in bringing prosperity to the village; this same group has also been, to a large extent, the means for introducing change to the village traditional values, institutions, economic activities, etc.

Furthermore, after Independence 1943 from the French, the village began to lose its autonomy with the emergence of Lebanon as a nation-state. The establishment of a central system of government and administration, the emergence of political parties, the creation of a national army, the organization of an electoral system, the establishment of a national budget and many others innovations were to determine and assign the specific role the village had to play.

> The effects of this political surrender of the village state results in a feeling of political impotence, economic dependability and psychological inferiority complex. ... instead of the village deciding for itself, or being the initiator, the decisions become imposed on it either by a local political leader, or by an outside demagogue.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 172)

These social, economic and political changes and transformations have resulted in exposing the village to many conflicting forces: traditionalism versus modernism; localism versus nationalism; old versus young; old versus new (Fig. 5.1). These conflicting forces have exposed the village to processes of change which affect all aspects of life. The impact of this change was more pronounced and articulated on the level of material culture than it was on the non-material culture. Murr (1987: 161-190) [5] explains that people's

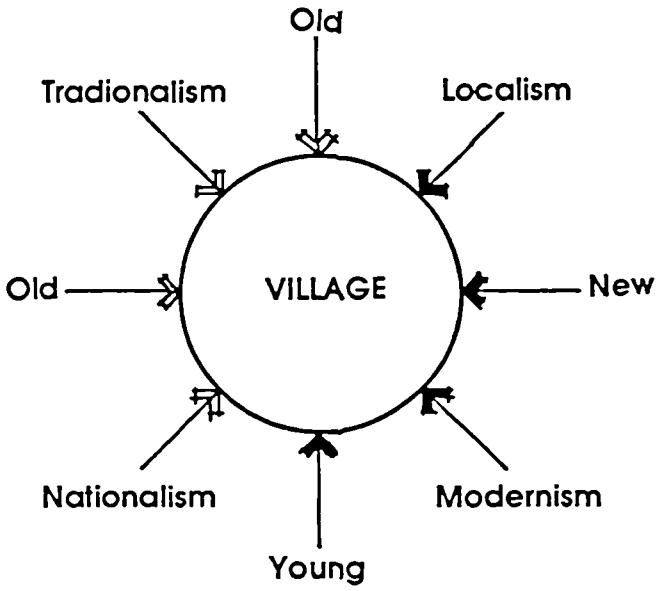


Fig. 5.1: Conflicting Forces Affecting Village Life in Lebanon Before the War.

resistance to non-material change or innovation is due to one of a combination of the following reasons: (1) when that change threatens their basic security; (2) when they do not understand it; (3) when it is enforced on them. He also summarizes material acculturation under the following conditions:

- The change does not involve excessive expense.
- The change is clearly conductive to greater comfort and convenience.
- The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other firmly established or unchanging norms.

Nevertheless, the reality of cultural change - both material and non-material - does not resolve itself into neat polarities; they overlap and interact with each other. Material changes are directly responsible for undermining the value system of the village and vice versa.

> The old notion that change in technological aspects of culture is relatively easy compared to change in, say, values, has been shown by many studies to be oversimplified. Kinesthetic or symbolic associations may render technological behavior as emotional or non-rational as any other kind. On the other hand, rational as opposed to sentimental behavior may be more seen in technological change than in changes in less palpable aspects of culture.
>
> (Gulick, 1965: 2)

In such undergoing process of culture-change, beliefs, norms, principles, attitudes, loyalties and other values shared by the villagers began to be questioned; their validity began to be doubted and their value to be devalued. However, this process did not completely wipe out the core elements of culture, which are both essential and relatively invariable. Instead, a duality in the pattern of culture has emerged.

> The village in the present era displays two cultural patterns in close contact with each other: one is traditional and belongs to the past, and the other is modern and lends itself to westernization. These two ways of life tend to be incompatible with each other and coexist in a continuous state of competition in the adjustment process of village life.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 9)

It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centres and then into rural areas. These influences, however, have not replaced or completely diluted the main body of the culture. This means that even the main body of the culture does not exist, nowadays, in its pure and intensified traditional form; however it still plays a major role in shaping the social and built environments.

5.3 THE TRADITIONAL LEBANESE VILLAGE: SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A clear picture of the general characteristics of the traditional Lebanese village could be found in the work of Tannous (1944 & 1949), Frayha (1957), Khater (1977) and Murr (1987). It is a picture of a discrete, compact social and physical unit whose inhabitants constitute a strong in-group vis-a-vis all outsiders. It is not surprising to learn that village endogamy was the rule and people were united by a complex network of marriage ties [6]. The village was governed by a Council of Elders (*awaadam* or *ikhtiarieh*) representing the different linear kinships in the village, headed by a Mayor (*mukhtar*). The responsibility of this Council was, and continues to be, to settle disputes, to maintain order and peace, and to conduct other administrative affairs. Mediation (*waasta*) is the favoured policy in running the village affairs. The issue of rightness or wrongness is not important. The Council is interested in reconciliation through compromise; it does not judge. In such an atmosphere, a great sense of belonging and attachment was developed based on extreme localism; hence the saying: "the tare of your community is better for you than foreign wheat".

In terms of origin, Lebanese villages fit into one of two categories. The first is when the villagers can be traced from a common descent; the second is when the villagers are of separate origin, each being descended from men who came to the site of the village on different occasions . The second category, according to Gulick, is the more common and into which the case studied by the author fits:

> Actually, it does not make any fundamental difference from the point of view of a social behavior. ... universal descent from a common ancestor, only intensifies the already extreme sentiment of village unity which is characteristic of Lebanese villages as a whole. This sentiment, it is important to note, counter-balances, and in fact, ordinarily outweighs whatever internal divisions centered around lineage loyalties occur in the village.
>
> (Gulick, 1953: 368)

Of course this unity was enhanced when the different groups belonged to the same religion. If not, sharp demarcation of spatial social control was clear. Contact was limited only to formal visits, friendly gestures, formulas of politeness and exchange of gifts. Such internal arrangements served as a means to control the rise of sects as a potential source of conflict. Moreover, religious affiliation played a major role in determining the nature of extra-village relations. The barriers of suspicion and hostility which generally divide one village from another tend to be minimized if the same religion is shared by them, intensified if it is not. Another way of viewing group relationships could be explained by using the "ingroups and outgroups" concept.

> Ingroup relationships are based on mutual help, cooperation and joint participation in various activities. These relationships could be best described as primary, personal and face-to-face whereas outgroup relationships are secondary, formal and impersonal.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 102-103)

Social stratification within the village does not lend itself to the commonly accepted system of class differentiation. The determinant factors of social class were, and continue relatively to be: family background, the amount of property, the type of housing and other social values such as generosity, hospitability and courage (Murr, 1987: 96-100). However in Lebanese villages, the main body of the culture, stated in the most abbreviated way, has been centred around: kinship; attachment to the land; mutual aid and cooperation and respect of elders. Tannous (1942), Gulick (1953), Fuller (1961), Murr (1987) and others agree that kinship is the most important element in both social and physical organization. It is, therefore, the reason why kinship is given particular attention.

5.3.1 KINSHIP

The family forms the central pillar of the Lebanese village and is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is the more important and known as the joint family, which consists of the grand parents at the top, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, the joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group (clan). Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor.

> The kinship structure of the Lebanese village is based upon the segmentation of the population into patrilineages [kin groups]. These patrilineages are not merely genealogical constructs. They are very active social groups. Lineage endogamy frequently occurs, especially when the lineages involved are large.
>
> (Gulick, 1955: 367-368)

In such a social environment, the group rather than the individual is the centre of community life in the Lebanon village. The importance of the family is well expressed in the saying "blood will never turn to water." Fuller emphasises the importance of blood relationship by saying:

> The blood is the significant kinship factor. The closer the blood ties, the greater the sense of identity between persons, since they partake most closely of the same essence. Blood, moreover, is conceived of as possessing peculiar importance of its own. It is a basic life property. When a new house is completed a cock is slaughtered, its blood dripping over the threshold. Thus the welfare and longevity of the house are assured.
>
> (Fuller, 1961: 60)

In such rural family organization, Tannous (1949: 159) finds that, with few exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon (northern part), Muslim and Christian women occupy a relatively high status. A woman does not suffer from extreme segregation, nor does she submit to the veil. Both boys and girls attend the same village school. In terms of farming activities, we find women are always assigned the lighter tasks.

The family, especially the joint one, is of great importance in shaping people's interaction and behaviour. It is a source of prestige, support and help. This importance is more evident and more clearly manifested in cases of conflict. There is a strong commitment to support one's nearest kinsman in a dispute. At the very least, one does not actively support the other party against a nearer kinsman. The question of rightness or wrongness is not a paramount issue, so far as one's obligation to support is concerned.

The importance of the family could be shown in expressions and proverbs which reflect the people's fundamental attitudes and concrete manifestations of unconscious rules and grammars. These expressions and proverbs cover a wide range of aspects of life: swearing expressions, names, addressing others, marriage, and patterns of conflict and co-operation (Table 5.1).

The kinship system, as a way of life of the Lebanese village, has survived for many centuries. Even where it has been modified and altered, there is some evidence which indicates that it has withstood the disintegrative influences of modernization remarkably well. The rising importance of the nuclear family, marriage to outsiders, and social and economic interactions with urban areas, have generally not shaken people's attitudes, feelings and loyalties.

> ... the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.
>
> (Gulick, 1954: 306)

5.3.2 ATTACHMENT TO LAND

Villagers have developed a deep-rooted attachment to the land, which has subsumed a number of values and emotions. Among the most important of these, perhaps, is the association of land with farming and inheritance patterns. It has been the villager's main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. Also, farming is

FAMILY IMPORTANCE	
Marriage	Marry the daughter of a good family, though she is an old maid.
Support	He who has no backing, has no backbone.
Family ties on mother side	A boy is two-thirds the image of his "*khal*" (*khal* is a kinship term for the maternal uncle).
Cooperation	He who does not share his goods with his brother will not share them with his son.
Binding	Nothing can sympathize with the twig more than its bark (indication to the binding of blood relation).
Conflict	My brother and I are against our cousin; my cousin, my brother and I are against the stranger.
Swearing **mild conflict situation** **intense conflict situation**	 You coward! Shut up! You dog! You woman! (addressing man) Go and bury yourself! May God curse you! Phew on you! May God curse your father! May God curse your ancestors! You son is of a harlot! You have no origin! All the violent swearing terms, to which the response is extremely violent indicate an attack upon the individual through his family. By such an attack his whole existence seems to be threatened. He reacts violently knowing that all the other members of his group will react similarly.
Names & Addressing others	Parents after the birth of the first son, cease to be called by their given names. Addressing They are addressed by the name of their son, as the father of so-and-so, e.g. Abu Nadim means others the father of Nadim. Younger generation, until they are married are refered to and introduced as the son of so-and-so, of such and such family. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives,thus emphasizing the blood tie. ... Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

Table 5.1: Expressions and Proverbs Show the Importance of Family in Rural Areas of Lebanon.
Source: Tannous, 1970: 99-107.

the set of activities which give a strong feeling of identification with nature. Land being passed from one generation to another through inheritance, is an integral part of the villager's existence and his social status. He speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, events, ancestors, or religious figures. Attachment to the land, based on social and symbolic values, has not been weakened even with migration. Extracts from personal letters, quoted in Tannous (1970: 308 & 310) illustrate this point.

> From Argentina; dated March, 1899
> ... Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall.
>
> From S. N. to her relative; Argentina, March, 1923.
> ... I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. ... I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land ...

Attachment to the land, based on economic values, has been dealt severe, if not mortal, blow. Lack of rural development programmes, modern education and urban jobs have drawn a significant proportion of young people away from the village in terms of economic activities. Only a few older men still earn their living as full-time farmers (Gulick, 1954: 305-306; Murr, 1987: 192-203). Moreover, the fragmentation of land, as a result of inheritance patterns, has negatively affected the agricultural productivity.

> The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of land holding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from one plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land.
>
> (Tannous, 1949: 156)

5.3.3 MUTUAL AID AND CO-OPERATION

Life in the village has necessitated close interdependence among the various groups. As people know each other intimately, a genuine feeling of neighbourliness, or "*jirah*" prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "co-operation".

Tannous (1949) refers to this cultural pattern in the village community as being essentially a co-operative unit. In its family and neighbourhood organization, in its social and religious activities, it manifest clearly this co-operative spirit. There is a good deal of linguistic evidence to support this point as indicated in these popular proverbs:

> Ask about your neighbours before you build your house.
> Your neighbour is your refuge.
> Your next-door neighbour is better for you than your far-off brother.
> As long as your neighbour is prosperous you will be prosperous too.
> God and your neighbour are the only two who know your affairs best.
> (quoted in Tannous, 1970: 99-107)

Villagers may quarrel or to be on "bad terms" with each other, but when there is a wedding ceremony or a funeral, they put aside their differences and support each other. Youth and dependents are socialized in this aspect of life from their early childhood.

> A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his group, but also to his elders and those younger than himself.
> (Tannous; 1949: 155)

Of course the intensity of support and help has been lessened with cultural changes, especially in the case of physical help such as: agricultural activities and dwelling construction. Moral and economic support are still strong especially within the extended family. Rural migrants send remittances to the village and return to participate in the major social and political events. This is more evident in times of crisis when all members of the family rally around the family head as one group.

5.3.4 AUTHORITY OF ELDERS

Elders are the heads of extended families, the sage of the village, the councillors, and advisors. They have acquired high status in Lebanese culture due to their age and cumulative experiences in life. Seniority in age is a symbol of social status. Hence the saying "He who has no elder, should buy one". Respectfully, youths in the village, address elders as "uncle" or "grandfather". An elder's word must be heard and respected and in his

presence an atmosphere of seriousness and solemnity prevails. This respect is intensified when the matter is between children and parents.

> From three sons to their father in Lebanon; Burraga, Australia, dated December. 23rd, 1905.
>
> ... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. ... Write us as father and master who orders his servants to do their duty towards him.
>
> (Tannous, 1970: 309)

With the recent cultural change the authority of elders has been weakened both economically and politically. The issue manifests itself in conflict between village and city life. Generally, the older generation stands for the orthodox traditional village life and condemns city life for its corruption, for its materialism and for the deterioration of its morals. While, the younger generation, especially the educated, rejects the old rigid life and glorifies the superiority of the city - politically, technically and materially.

5.4 THE TRADITIONAL LEBANESE VILLAGE: PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

The physical description of a typical Lebanese village is illustrated in the work of Tannous (1949), Frayha (1957), Khater (1977), Murr (1987) and others. There were many criteria which were taken into consideration in determining the location of villages. Most important criteria were water supply, fertility of soil and defence. Other factors such as wind direction and availability of building materials were taken into account in the construction of a village.

The physical pattern is a clear manifestation of the social pattern and the highly socialized and cooperative atmosphere. It is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area (Fig. 5.2). The heart of this type of nucleated settlement is the square (*saha*) which is surrounded by the major public buildings such as the school, religious

In Mountainous Areas

In Plane Areas

Fig. 5.2: Examples of Physical Structure of Lebanese Village.

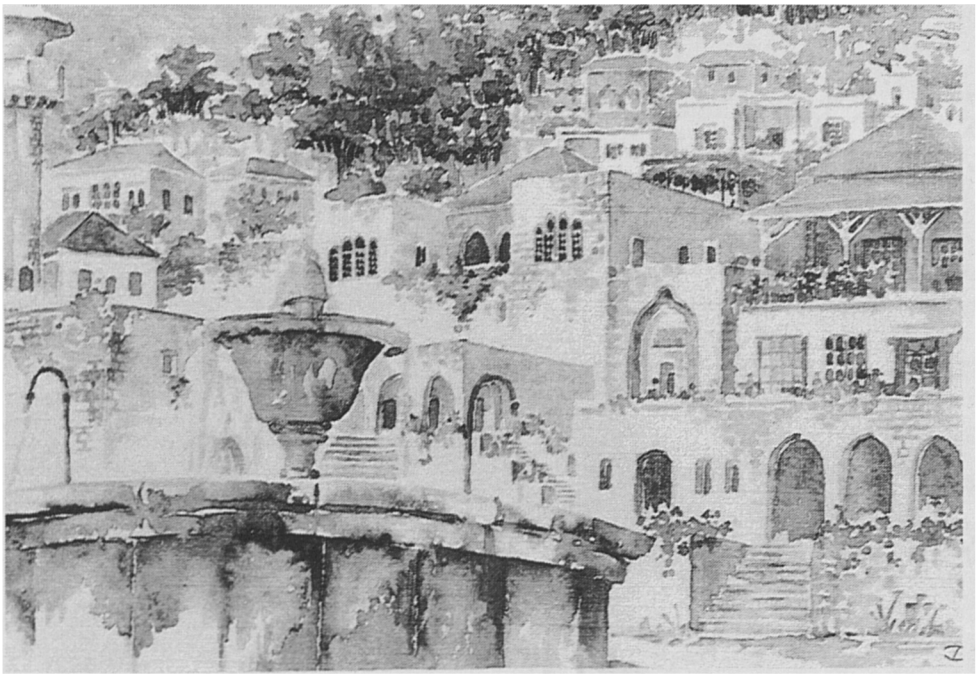
Source: Archive of the National Centre for Tourism in Lebanon.

building, coffee house, bakery, and shops. The *saha* is the place where people assemble to celebrate festivals, exchange news, or hold a market. Sitting areas, provided with stone benches, are a common feature in the saha and different meeting places within the village. Frequently, these places are protected from the sun by trees (Fig. 5.3).

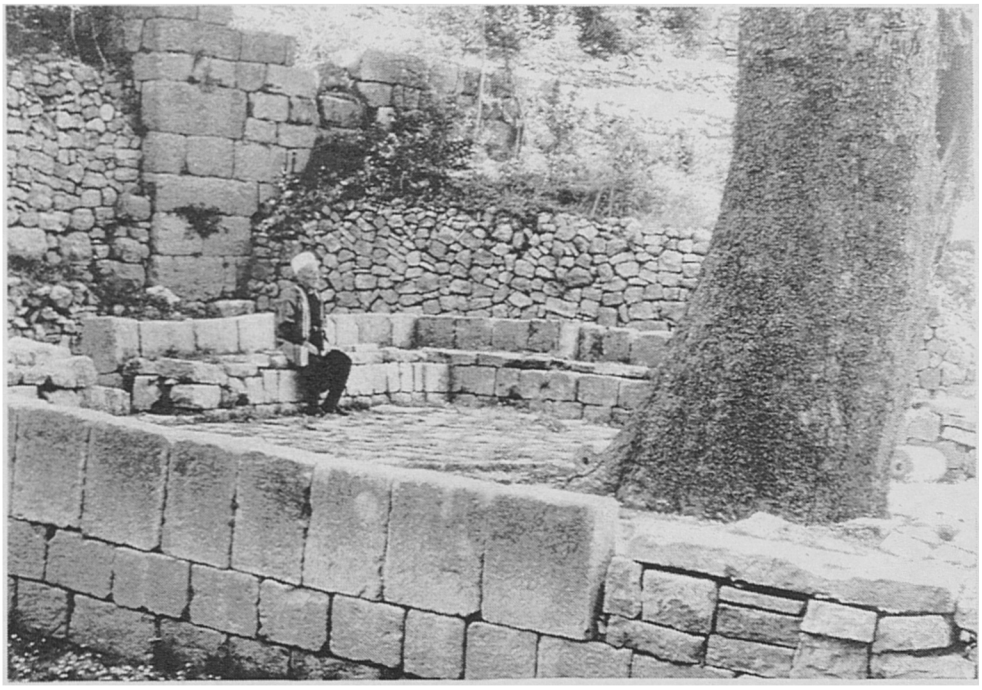
Usually each quarter of the village is occupied by a number of households related through family ties; in the flat areas of Lebanon (Akkar and Bekaa) families tended to build houses attached to each other with shared party walls. A small space, sometimes, is created to be shared as an enclosed courtyard among the families around it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, grapevines, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. Sometimes there is an area between the houses for small gardens and spaces used for social and domestic activities. This open space is still an important component of the Lebanese rural dwelling; it is usually protected from the sun by a grapevine (*a'arishah*) or an orchard (Fig. 5.4).

Another important element of the village is the fountain , or well, which could be found either in the *saha* or just outside the village within walking distance. The fountain had a dual role in the life of the village community. The first was economic, representing the only source of water for domestic and irrigation use. The second was social where women chatted and gossiped, lovers met and courted. Dwellings stretch from this centre in various directions. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, are separated by winding, narrow, unpaved alleys and lanes which lead to agricultural lands (Fig. 5.5). Passing through the village, we experience an everchanging play of contrast: light-dark, low-high, open-closed, narrow and wide.

> Massing of single houses as well as groups of houses is very satisfactory, and creates full harmony between house and landscape, house and house or village and landscape. The basis of this harmony is the ... simplicity of the design and the adherence to a uniform scale... It is remarkable how well the human scale is maintained in Lebanese architecture... Modesty and restraint are therefore the key qualities of traditional Lebanese architecture ...
>
> (Ragette, 1980: 181-182)



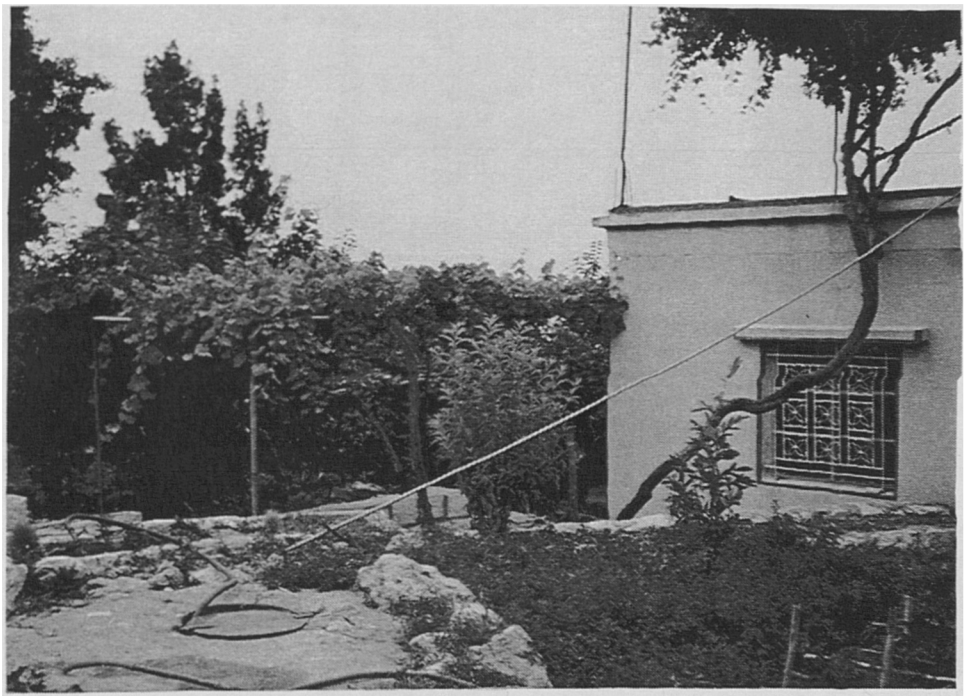
Source: Postcard, Illustarted Publications: 1980.



Source: Aboussouan, 1985: 228.

Fig. 5.3: Examples of the Square and Meeting Places in Lebanese Village.

Source: Aboussouan, 1985: 227.



Source: Author's Fieldwork: 1990.

Fig. 5.4: Examples of Shaded Sitting Areas in Front the Dwelling in Lebanese Village.

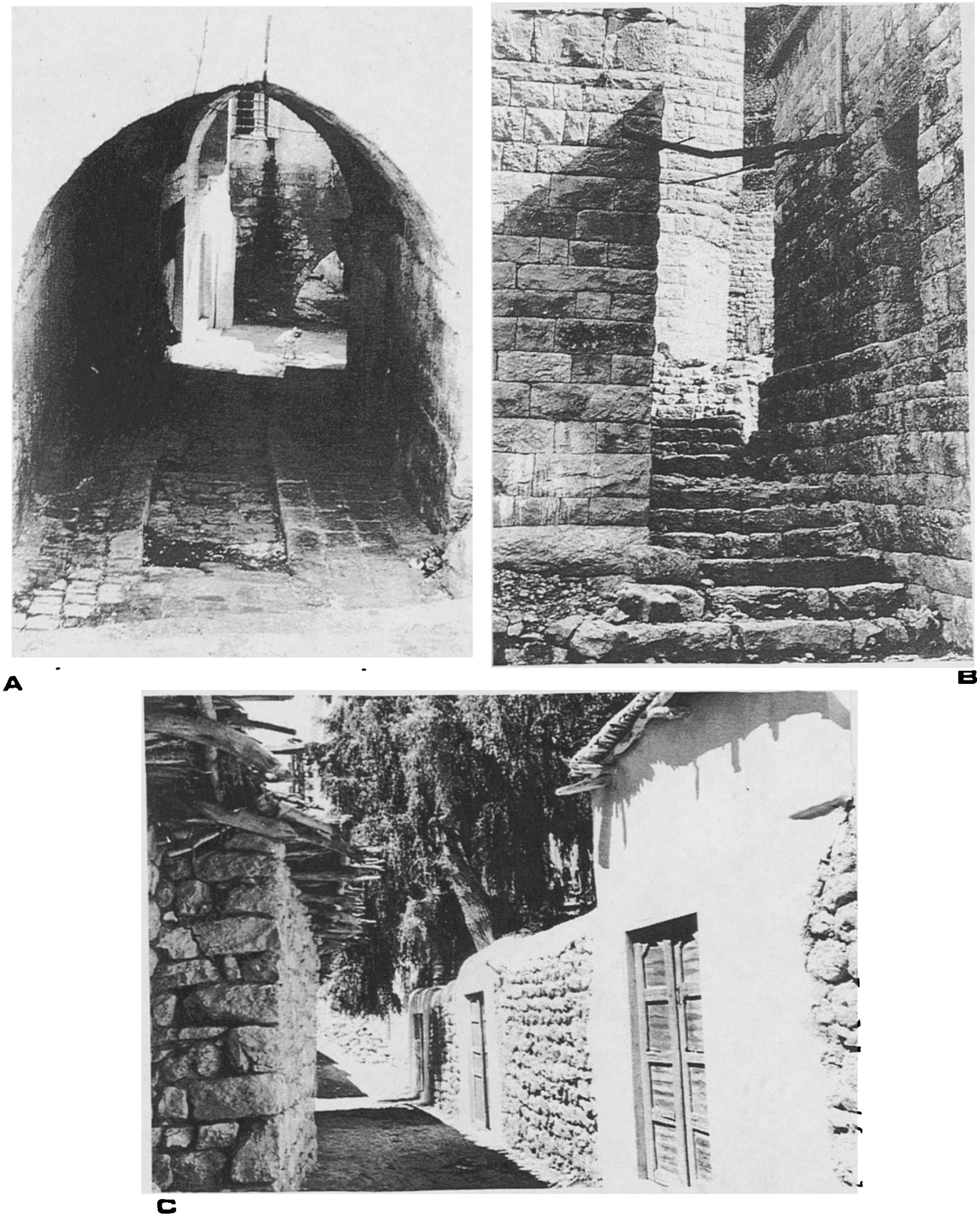


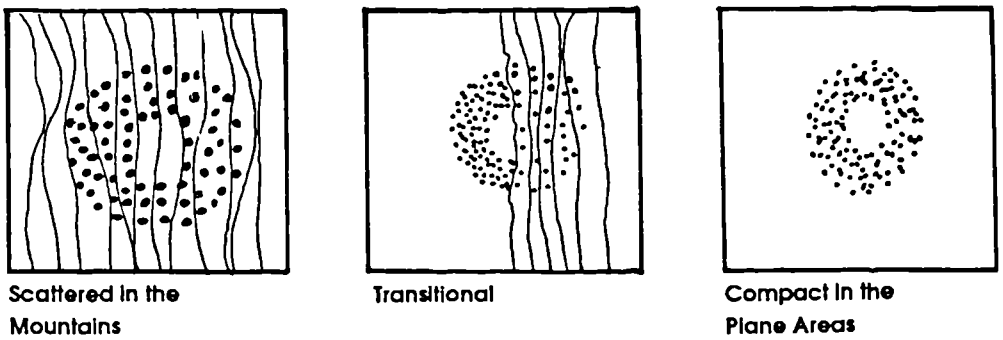
Fig. 5.5: Passages in Traditional Lebanese Villages.

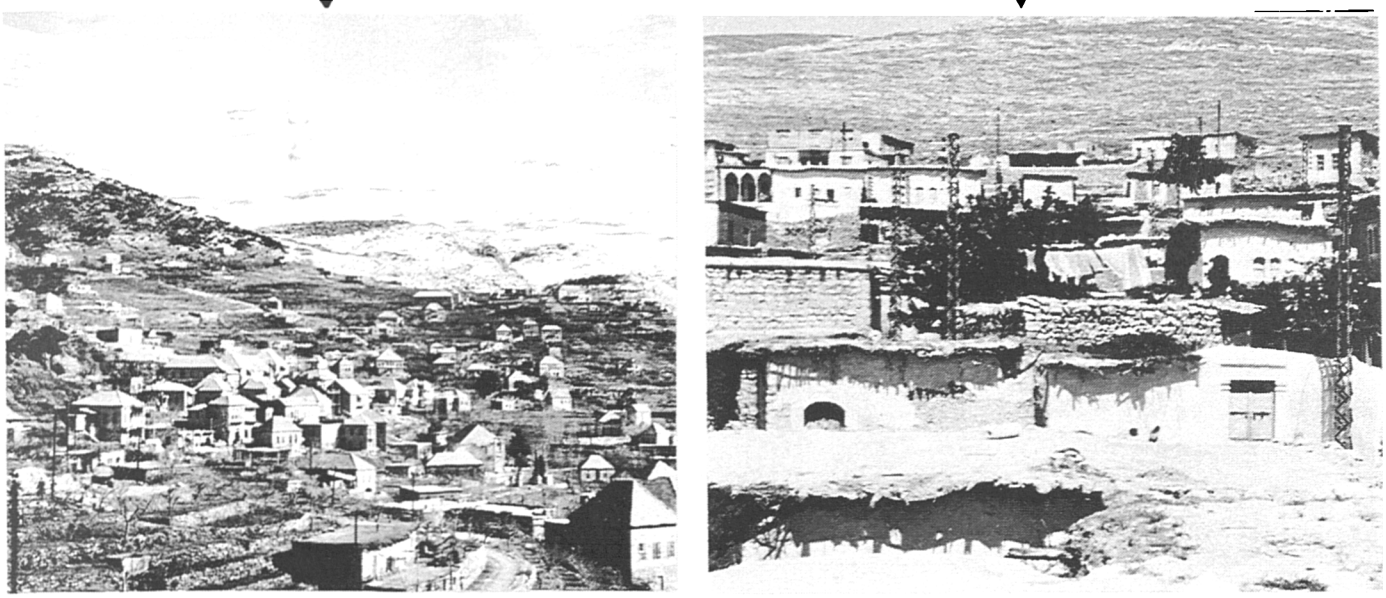
Source: A & B; Aboussouan, 1985: 234.
C; Archive of the Association of the Preservation of Old Sites & Buildings.

In the case of larger villages, which have more than one religious sect, there is more than one square; hence the upper *saha* or the lower *saha*. Consequently, two areas of social control are created; the spatial differences are sharp and demarcate the boundaries of the communities. This spatial pattern is consistent with the old patterns of settlement, defence and attack. Some households can ignore the strict demarcation of clan boundaries because of their numerical predominance. The other groups have to keep to clan and ethnic boundaries because of their more precarious political status within the village (Antoun, 1972: 124-129).

The degree of compactness of the village is influenced by geophysical conditions. There are two major types of settlement layout: compact in the plane areas and scattered in the mountains with one transitional layout at the foot of the hills (Fig. 5.6). Names of the different districts and places are related either to the family who inhabit the area or to historic and popular events.

The site has a great influence in the orientation of the dwelling. In rugged areas the dwelling was built parallel to the contour lines and open towards the valley; in most cases to face the prevailing wind direction especially on the western slope facing the sea (high humidity). While in Bekaa, where the region is marked by high diurnal differences of temperature and low humidity, houses do not require much ventilation but need protection against the strong winds, which are channelled in a north and south direction. Therefore, most traditional houses in Bekaa face east or west (Fig. 5.7). The site also has an influence on the type of materials used during construction: Mud Bricks in Bekaa, Basalt in Akkar and Lime Stone in Mount Lebanon. The use of locally available materials make the dwellings grow naturally and harmoniously with the surrounding landscape.





Archive of the National Centre for Tourism in Lebanon

Fig. 5.6: Traditional Planning Layouts in Rural Areas of Lebanon.

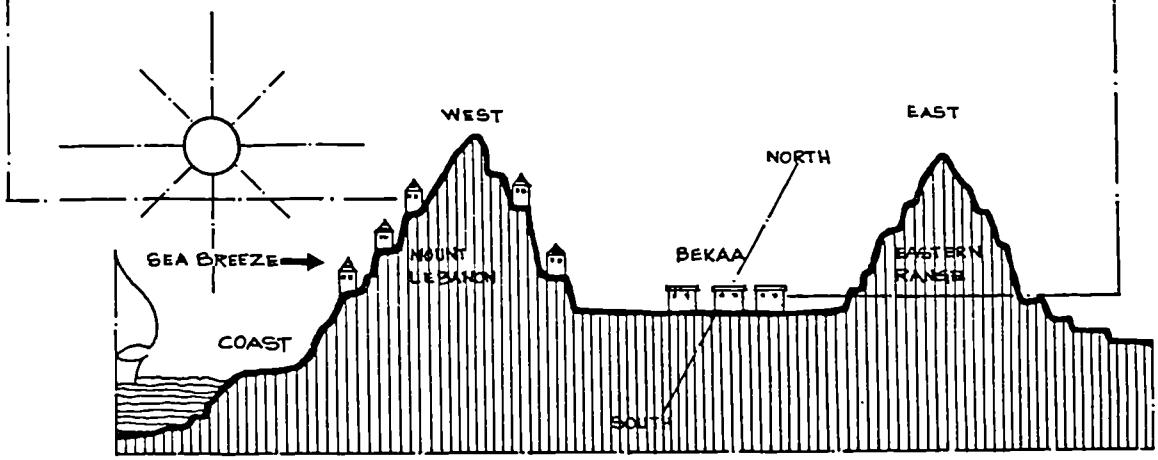


Fig. 5.7: Orientation of the Traditional rural Dwelling in Lebanon.

5.4.1 THE DWELLING

The villager's ultimate aim and objective were, and continue to be, to build a dwelling in the village even when he resides in the city. It is not uncommon for villagers in Lebanon to maintain seasonal or permanent residence in their village while working elsewhere. To have a house is considered a virtue; it is the pride of the villager. There are many sayings in Lebanese literature that indicate the importance of the dwelling and signify the villager's attachment and fondness for his home. Among these sayings are "a heap of stones is better than a heap of gold", and "the house is the first thing to be acquired; the last thing to be sold". One traditional song states: "My house, my small house, you are the keeper of my secrets and vices; inside you I eat, inside you I drink and inside you I stretch my feet".

Using the word "house" to refer to "family" is common practice even today; "house Abu-Aram" to refer to the "family of Abu-Aram". The importance of dwelling in village life could be also shown in the case of a villager in crisis by referring metaphorically to him as the "one whose house being destroyed", or in the case of disagreement "may God destroy your house and not one stone remains over another".

Traditionally, the construction of the house was the task of the master mason (*mu'allim*) of the village, who agreed with the client on one of the common types of plan, without any formal documents. This procedure encouraged the repetition of similar houses, but it is understandable that modifications and combinations were sometimes made. The house was built by simply following tradition, usually with the participation of the whole family. Support and help were also provided by other members from the village.

5.4.1.1 TYPES

Four major types of traditional dwellings can be observed in rural areas of Lebanon which are common in the different geographical regions. This could be attributed to the commonality of the core elements of the culture [7], certain needs and aspirations were

solved in essentially the same way; and certain architectural forms were similarly developed. The main traditional dwelling types, which follow the typological development of house plan, can be summed as [8]:

1. RECTANGULAR:

This is the simple plan of a covered space. It consists of a living room, a storage area and a stable. In the case of rugged areas, a split level is used to match the slope of the land. Animals are kept on the ground floor with its flat roof used as a terrace.

2. GALLERY:

This is characterised by a covered space which is open to the outside through a series of supports: colonnade or arcade. It is an extension of the rectangular house. The covered space is used for many purposes such as circulation zone for the different rooms, receiving guests, cooking, drying food or washing, etc.

4. LIWAN:

This is a covered space open to the outside through a large arch and flanked on both sides by rooms. The doors of these rooms are always near the front corners of the *liwan* and the strip connecting the two doors is a circulation zone. The *liwan* is also used for many domestic activities.

4. CENTRAL HALL:

This is mainly found in Mount Lebanon. It is a large room opened to the outside through triple arches; it is the main living area for the family and gives access to the surrounding rooms.

These types are illustrated in (Fig. 5.8). It should be emphasized that this classification is imited only to the origin and simple house types. Each of these simple types has been developed through time, into more complex and sophisticated forms. Other houses are the result of several combinations (see Appendix 5.1). Many houses do not fit any of the recognized types; they were designed simply to suit the

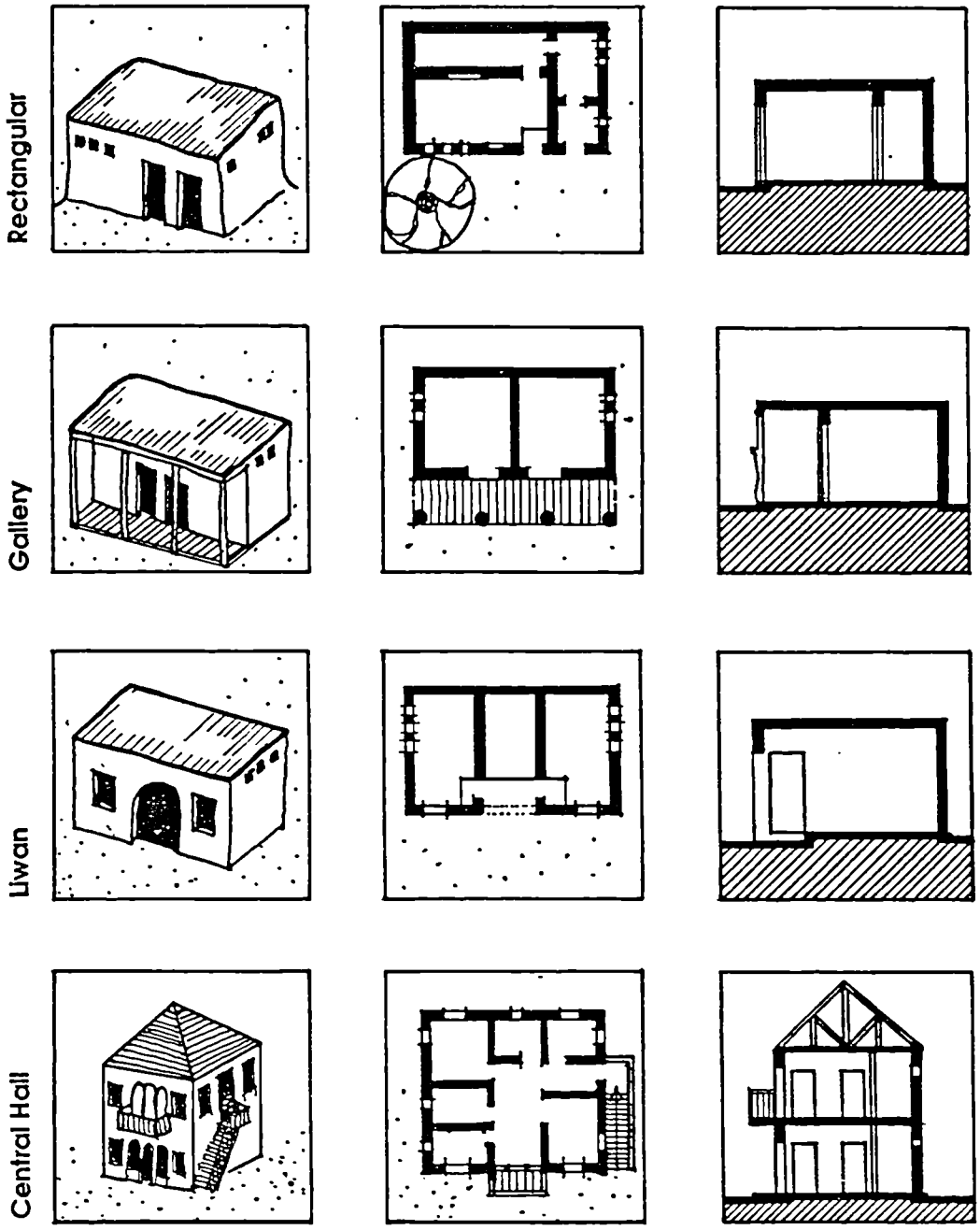


Fig. 5.8: Main Types of Traditional Rural Dwelling in Lebanon.

conditions of the site or are the result of the successive addition of elements such as closed rectangles, galleries and *liwans*. The choice, between these types, was dictated by economic considerations, by local conditions or practices and personal preferences.

Internally, the first three types are characterized either with one space where all activities take place or with many rooms with no specialized functions. The kitchen and toilet were originally built outside the house. The fourth type is where skilled labour and imported materials (red tiles) began to appear.

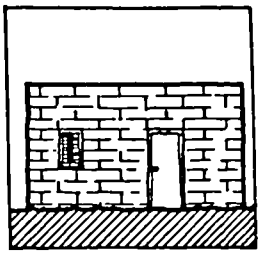
> ... the [traditional] Lebanese houses are simple and straightforward. However, this simplicity entails the lack of specialized spaces in the house, either for cooking or washing, and a lack of privacy for the individual. These factors are the biggest hindrance in adapting old houses to modern requirements.
>
> (Ragette, 1980: 180)

5.4.1.2 ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

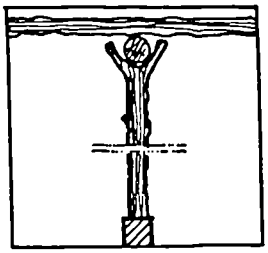
Despite the similarity of house types, regionality can be clearly noticed in the different rural areas of Lebanon, which reflects the people's creativity and their good knowledge of the potential of local materials. Each and every element that forms a part of the physical environment has a definite background. The facades reflect the internal arrangement of spaces, which in turn follows a module of construction dictated by the materials. The main distinctive regional characteristics are:

1. AKKAR

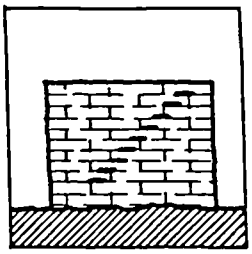
- External decoration of the black Basalt consists entirely in the whitewashing of doors and windows.
- Locally grown timber in the area is soft and flexible (Eucalyptus). Therefore, the wooden column supporting the earth roof is formed of one piece in the shape of Y.
- The roof does not project outside the walls which do not need protection from rain.
- Access to the roof is sometimes provided by having protruding stones forming a kind of side stairway which stops at about one metre above the ground to prevent animals from gaining access (Fig. 5.9).



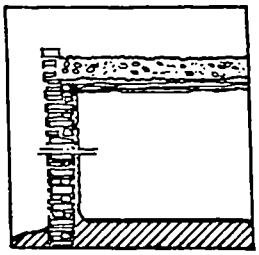
Black Basalt with White Washing around openings



Column Details (Wood)



Access to the Roof



No Projection of the Roof

Source: Archive of the National Centre for Tourism in Lebanon.

Source: Aboussouan, 1985: 280.

Fig. 5.9: Main Architectural Elements in Akkar.

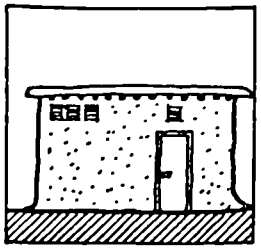
2. BEKAA

- The mud brick walls are plastered by white washed earth rounding the corner and merging with the ground.
- The local tree (poplar) is hard; therefore the internal wooden column is formed of two pieces in a T shape.
- Access to the roof is provided by a movable wooden ladder. The roof projects outside the mud walls protecting them from the rain.
- A few small windows are placed under the roof to provide light and ventilation as the region is characterized by low humidity and high diurnal temperature differences.
- Cupboards are built internally within the thick walls, which are also used for keeping mattresses and blankets, water jar, shoes, etc. (Fig. 5.10).

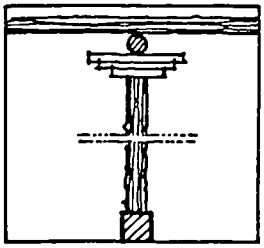
3. MOUNT LEBANON

- The triple-arch motif of the central hall is dominant. It is usually composed of a door in the middle and a window on each side.
- The house usually consists of two floors each one has a separate entrance. It is a simple cube covered by a pitch roof of red tiles in a uniform slope of 35°.
- Balcony of the central hall rests upon corbels placed at about one metre distance and projecting 1.20 metres.
- Cantilever stairs are frequently found, the steps are monolithic pieces of limestone of different shapes built into the walls (Fig. 5.11).

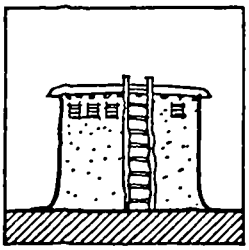
It should be mentioned that these architectural elements are only limited to the simple and early staged forms. They have been under successive development and modification, especially with the blossoming of craftsmanship during the 19th century when the country experienced stability and economic prosperity.



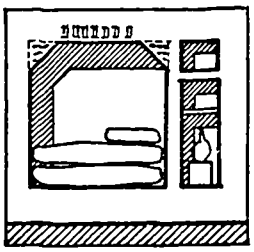
Mud Walls with
Earth Roof



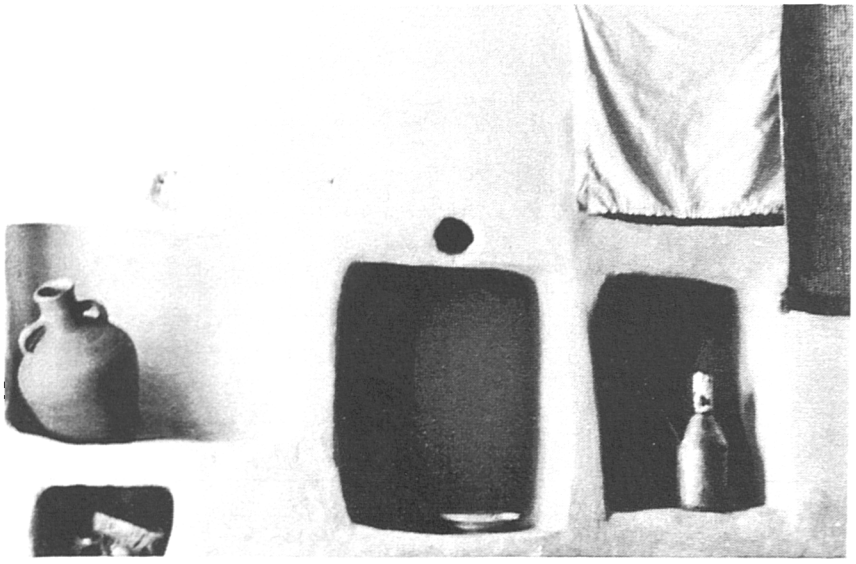
Column Details
(Wood)



Access to the
Roof
Few Windows



Cupboards Built
into Walls

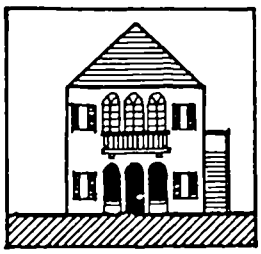


A

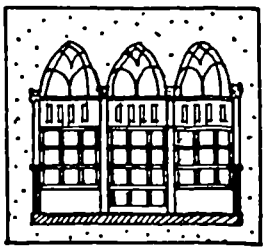
B

Fig. 5.10: Main Architectural Elements in al-Bekaa.

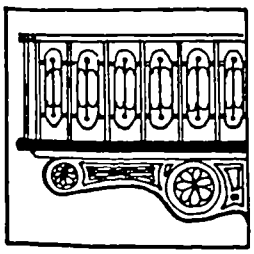
Source: A & B; Archive of the Association of the Preservation of Old Sites & Buildings.



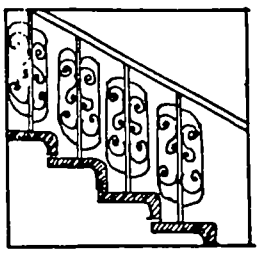
Two Floors



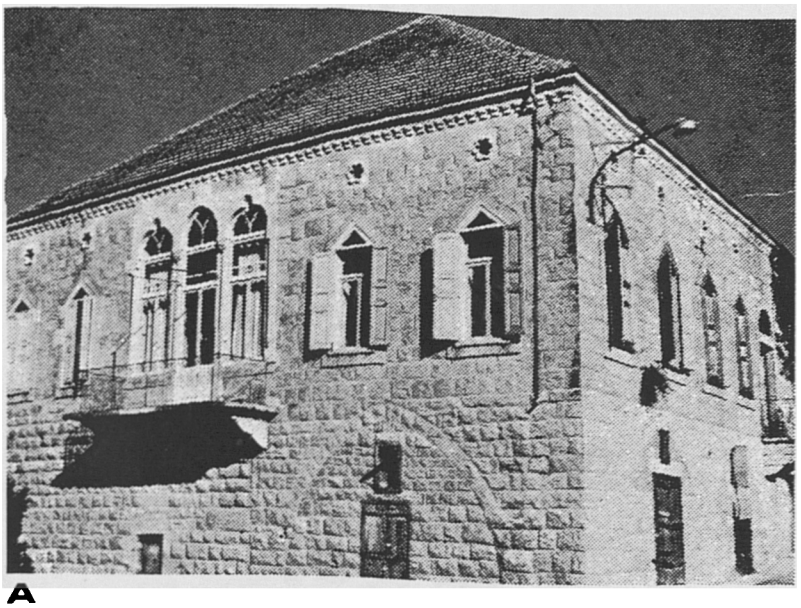
Triple Arches



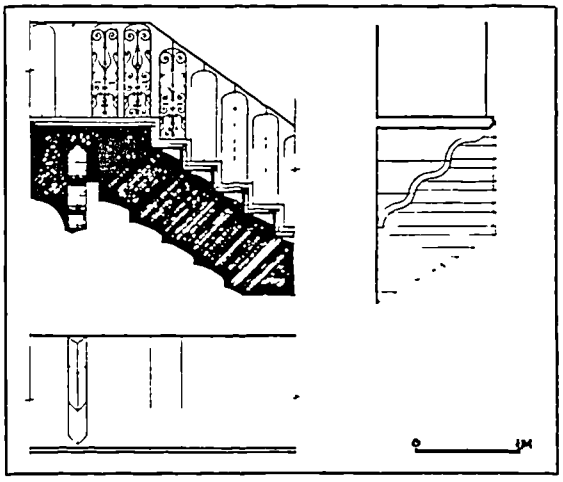
Balcony Detail



Cantilever stair



A



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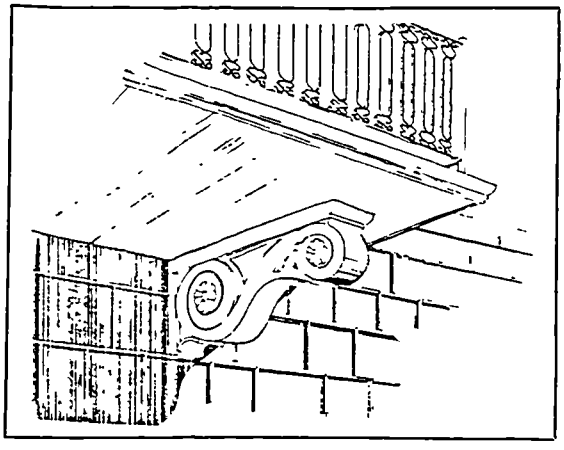

C

Fig. 5.11: Main Architectural Elements in Mount Lebanon.
Source: Ragette, 1980: (A) 110; (B & C) 159.

5.5 PROBLEMS

With rapid and spontaneous change, many problems have confronted village life and its established institutions. The seriousness of the situation is such that many of these problems do not have antecedents in the cultural heritage of the village.

> The economic-political convergence of the village in mass society, its close interaction and association with its immediate surroundings and the outside world, its dependence on the central government for the operation and maintenance of many of its vital projects and internal affairs such as education, construction of roads, and the like, all these factors not only brought the village out of its socio-physical seclusion, but also placed it in a transitional situation oscillating between its past and its future.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 183)

On the economic level, the village has been connected with outside markets due to the development of transportation systems. Mass-produced materials and manufactured goods are finding their way quicker into the village economy. The result is that imports are far exceeding exports. The consequences are the neglect of agriculture, the disappearance of traditional products and handicrafts which cannot compete with imported goods, and the drift of villagers to urban areas in search for work and employment. This was also associated with an educational system which ignores the real needs of rural areas. The promotion of centralized national curriculum, controlled and supported by the state, overlooks comprehensive rural-vocational education. Generally, the economic problems are centred around the following issues:

- inefficient agricultural practices and lack of sufficient water supply;
- inequitable distribution of land and inefficient agricultural practices;
- population growth and emigration; and
- underdeveloped local industries and crafts, and lack of an efficient marketing system.

On the political level, the establishment of Lebanon as a nation-state (1943) has weakened the village autonomy and its socio-physical identity. Many issues have arisen which are beyond the comprehension of the common villager: constitutionalism, political parties,

national budgets, civil rights, power and authority, equality and freedom, etc. However, the state being replaced French control did not change the villager's opinion towards the ruler (government).

> It is true that he identifies himself with his country, with his state, and seeks and expects support and protection from it; yet in the depth of his heart he views it as the source of authority and fears it. He is not yet a functional part of it, though he is nominal one.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 209)

The lack of homogeneous relationships between the villagers and the central government could be traced to the following reasons:

- the ambiguous, vaguely defined position of the village in the state,
- the lack of mutual cooperation between the village community and the central government,
- disruption of political parties, and
- lack of effective local authority to enforce enactments.

The relation between the government and the village is not based on mutual trust; instead it is coloured with resentment and suspicion. It is for this simple reason, for example before the war, that there is no reliable statistics concerning rural areas.

> Because people don't understand the concept itself, they think that there must be some ulterior motive behind it. The result is reporting false figures, depending on the question asked. ... The problem, instead of being clarified, is further complicated by the fact that national planning is not based on clearly defined objectives - at least ones to be understood by the villager. What the villager can see and interpret is that his village receives services which are inadequate, badly administered and highly centralized, whereas the city gets the lion's share of the national budget.
>
> (Murr, 1987: 209)

On the social level, the indigenous culture, experienced and maintained for long periods, began to weakened in the face of external cultural forces. The change in the socio-physical structure resulted in conflict and shift of values. The villager has been torn between conflicting loyalties and contradictory situations. Social stratification based on land ownership and family prestige began to be replaced by money, level of education and employment considerations. Another important spectrum in village life where the conflict is more noticeable is the conflict between the generations.

> The old, viewing things from a traditional, religious perspective, view farming, piety, and compliance with the old traditions as the most virtuous life; whereas the youth, preoccupied with the material advantages that a high material prosperity, cars, radios, income, and education offers, consider urban life to be more attractive and conducive to such a life pattern; and the conflict gathers momentum on both sides.
> (Murr, 1987: 219)

On the physical level, most villages have been modified and reshaped under the process of change. With the introduction of contemporary building methods and materials the unity of construction and landscape has been lost. Traditional architectural values and skills have been substituted by new ones which are diametrically opposed to traditional habits. Harmony and proportion have been lost (Fig. 5.12).

> ... new buildings spring up in every conceivable shape and without any relationship to their surroundings. Noble restraint has been replaced by obtrusive extravagance, intricate gimmicks have supplanted the simple honesty of the stone-mason's work, misunderstood modernity competes with artificial re-interpretations of traditional forms.
> (Ragette, 1980: 198)

Moreover, the rapid process of change requires improvement in the available infrastructure and services such as roads networks, water supply, and medical and social services in order to keep pace with the level of socio-economic changes.

5.6 SUMMARY

The traditional Lebanese village was the product of many variables: climate, topography, ways of life, technology and resources, ethical and moral values, and, most importantly, it is the mirror of the social structure. The context generated the settlement layouts, house forms and the elements; the outcome is naturally and culturally valid. People were able to respond directly to the conditions achieving rich forms and spaces, and making the best use of the available materials. Consequently, harmony with nature, attachment to land and a strong feeling of belonging were created.

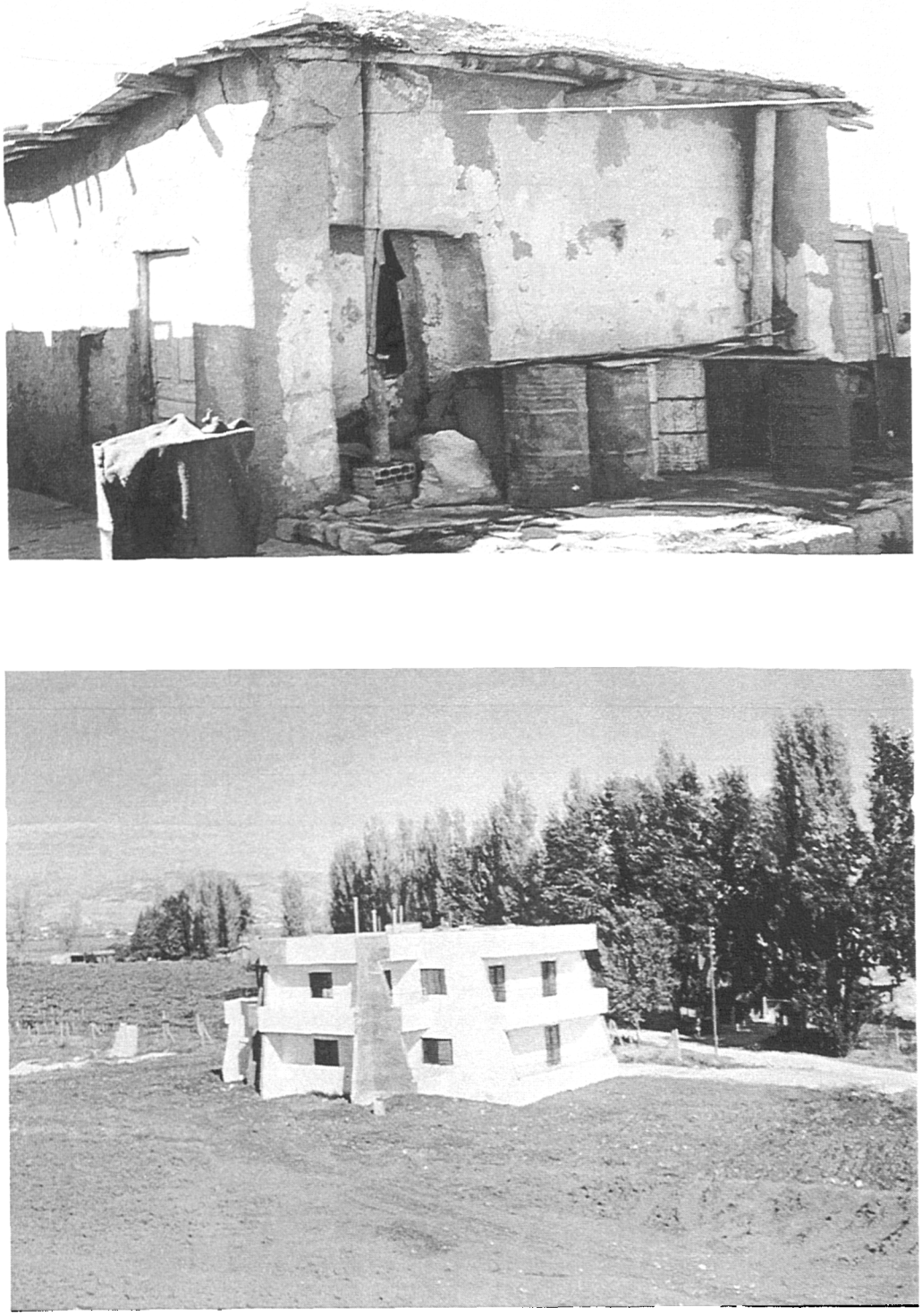

Fig. 5.12: Comparison Between Traditional and Modern Dwellings in Bar Elias (al-Bekaa).
Source: Author, 1989.

With spontaneous changes and transformation, the village has been transformed from a traditional and isolated settlement into an area influenced by alien and unplanned forces. The outcomes are that the harmonious and established ways of life begin to be changed; the degree of change is more influential on the material aspects of the culture than the non-material ones. Consequently, all aspects of the village life have been affected causing multiple social, economic, political and physical problems. Undeniably, all these problems have been intensified in most rural areas during the last 16 years of conflict as a result of destruction, displacement, lack of resources, etc. However, in depth examination of these issues will be dealt in the fourth part of this study which focuses on the village case study.

NOTES

[1] **Proverbs:** used in this chapter are quoted after Tannous (1970) and Murr (1987).

[2] **Social studies about Lebanese village:** the underlying motives of interests in studying Lebanese village are varied: political, educational, economic, etc. For more details about this point refers to Murr (1987: 4-5).

[3] **Examples of studies on the modal Lebanese village:** Gulick (1955), Frayha (1957), Fuller (1961), Kahter (1977), Murr (1987). Examples of studies of specific aspects of the culture: Tannous (1941 & 1942), Gulick (1954 & 1969), Ayoub (1965), Khuri (1972), Petres (1972).

[4] **Historical events and changes in rural areas of Lebanon:** refer to Fawaz (1983: 21-27), Chevallier (1971) and Salibi (1988).

[5] **Material and non-material changes:** Murr refers to Gulick (1955) in the case of material change and to Spicer (1952) in the case of non-material change.

[6] **Endogamy:** Islam actually encourages lineage endogamy, indeed, even extended family endogamy (first cousin marriage). It also tends to be encouraged by Christian Arabs who forbid the marriage only of first and second cousins, depending on the sect.

[7] **Core elements of culture:** refer to Rapoport (1983).

[8] **House Types:** discussion and classification of types are based upon the following references: Kalayan (1965), Liger-Belair (1965), Khoury (1975) and Ragette (1980).

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PART IV

CHAPTER 6: Research Methods

CHAPTER 7: Analysis of Discussions with Key Figures and In-Depth Family Case Histories

CHAPTER 8: Analysis of the Survey: Semi-Structured Interviews

CHAPTER SIX:

RESEARCH METHODS

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH METHODS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Understanding social contexts and assessing people's needs are prerequisites for planning reconstruction after disaster. What are the conditions prior to destruction and what can people do for themselves? What are the factors which enhance recovery and what are the opportunities for improving conditions? These fundamental questions should be answered in order to plan for comprehensive reconstruction. It is an approach to reconstruction **with** people in which the social milieu of the disaster should be understood and the victims' needs clearly articulated.

The main objective of this chapter is to describe and justify the methodology used during the fieldwork in one damaged Lebanese village, namely, al-Burjain. It is against the problems of assessing victims' needs in post-disaster situations (refer to Chapter 2), that this chapter starts by introducing the methods used during the fieldwork. Then each method is described highlighting issues of purpose, procedure, technique, weakness and strength.

6.2 RESEARCH METHODS

A wide variety of data-collection methods are available, from case study to census and from informal discussion to structured interview. However, no rigid rules or methods are prescribed in the literature for collection of data for the study of a specific situation. Rules and methods are "like diplomacy, ... the art of the possible" (Patton, 1990: 13). The options and strategies depend on many factors such as resources, creativity, opportunity, kind of information needed, objectives of collecting data, etc. Moreover, data collection in war

disaster is usually confronted with additional limitations and difficulties due to the military situation and the sensitivity of some of the issues (causes of displacement, conditions for returning, financial aspects, etc.).

In the case of Lebanon, the fieldwork encountered with many constraints. In the first year and a half of the research, the fieldwork was postponed twice due to instability in Lebanon. Obviously, various aspects of the fieldwork were stressful and anxiety-laden. For example, the author had to cross thirteen military check-points travelling from West Beirut (place of residence) to the study village; and fourteen on the way back. Therefore, to maximize available opportunities, it was essential to develop adequate communication methods for understanding the local context and for assessing people's needs of the damaged village of al-Burjain.

The fieldwork, conducted in Lebanon between July and August 1990, consisted of three stages: discussions with key figures, in-depth family case histories and a survey using semi-structured interviews.

> What the methods share is flexibility in execution, deliberate interaction between the researcher and researched and a richness of data which stems from their largely textual nature and from their grounding in the language and experiences of the informants.
>
> (Walker, 1985: 7)

The sequence of these stages reflects different levels of focus on the issue of displacement and reconstruction (Fig. 6.1). They are interrelated activities; each stage prepared the ground for the next one. In fact, the development of a mixture of techniques or methodological practices capitalises on the strengths of each method and provides opportunities for cross-checking and for a more complete picture of the situation being studied. This is imperative due to the lack of sufficient information, data and official documents about the village. The information has to be dug out as separate pieces from different sources (personal archives, newspapers, discussions, etc.), then put together in a coherent form.

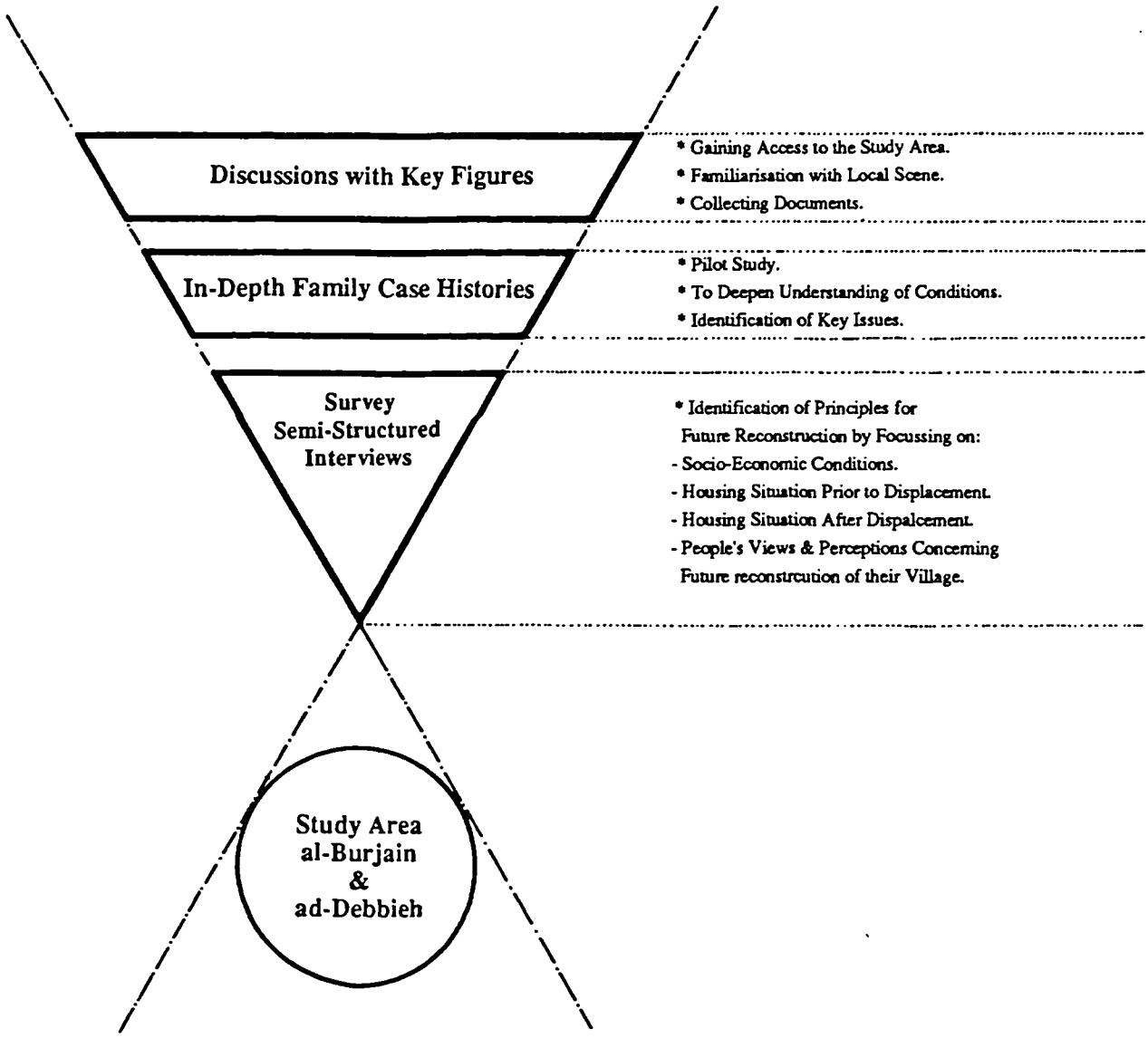


Fig. 6.1: Stages of the Fieldwork Carried Out in Lebanon in July-August, 1990.

6.2.1 DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY FIGURES

Preparing the ground for the survey started with a series of meetings with the relevant key figures. These are two sub-groups who are referred to, in the literature, as gatekeepers, who control access to the study area and related documents (Burgess, 1984: 45-48), or as key informants, who have knowledge or information (stories, personal experiences, archives, memoirs, etc.) about the study area (Stacey, 1969: 47-48). However, there is no consensus on the borderline between a gatekeeper and a key informant; a key figure could be both a gatekeeper and a key informant (McNeill, 1985: 68). The purpose of this stage is threefold: (1) gaining access to the study area, (2) familiarisation with the local conditions, and (3) identification of key informants for discussions and documents inspection.

Gaining access to the study area is an important aspect of any fieldwork because access is a prerequisite for research to be conducted. The accounts of gaining access vary with the researcher, those who are researched and the research problem. People like Burgess (1984: 31-52) Casley and Lury (1981: 130-131), Hershfield et al. (1983: 241-245), Shaffir and Stebbins (1991: 25-81), among many others, have advised about this sensitive issue. Undeniably, this is doubly important in the case of the Lebanon given the highly militarized situation and the 'illegal' housing situation of the displaced people. In this respect, the author was in an advantageous position as an insider, a Lebanese who knows the clues of the culture in terms of language and behaviour and as someone who has personally experienced displacement. Access was to be resolved before the survey started, otherwise hurried and inappropriate decisions could jeopardize the conduct of the fieldwork.

> The researcher will begin to penetrate the 'fronts' that are always put up for an outsider and will work towards developing a true and authentic understanding of the setting.
>
> (McNeill, 1985: 68)

The series of meetings and information collected is illustrated in (Fig. 6.2). Meetings were arranged by a 'snowball' process, with one key figure leading to another till the author reached the community itself. It involved "negotiating tactics" [1] in order to convince

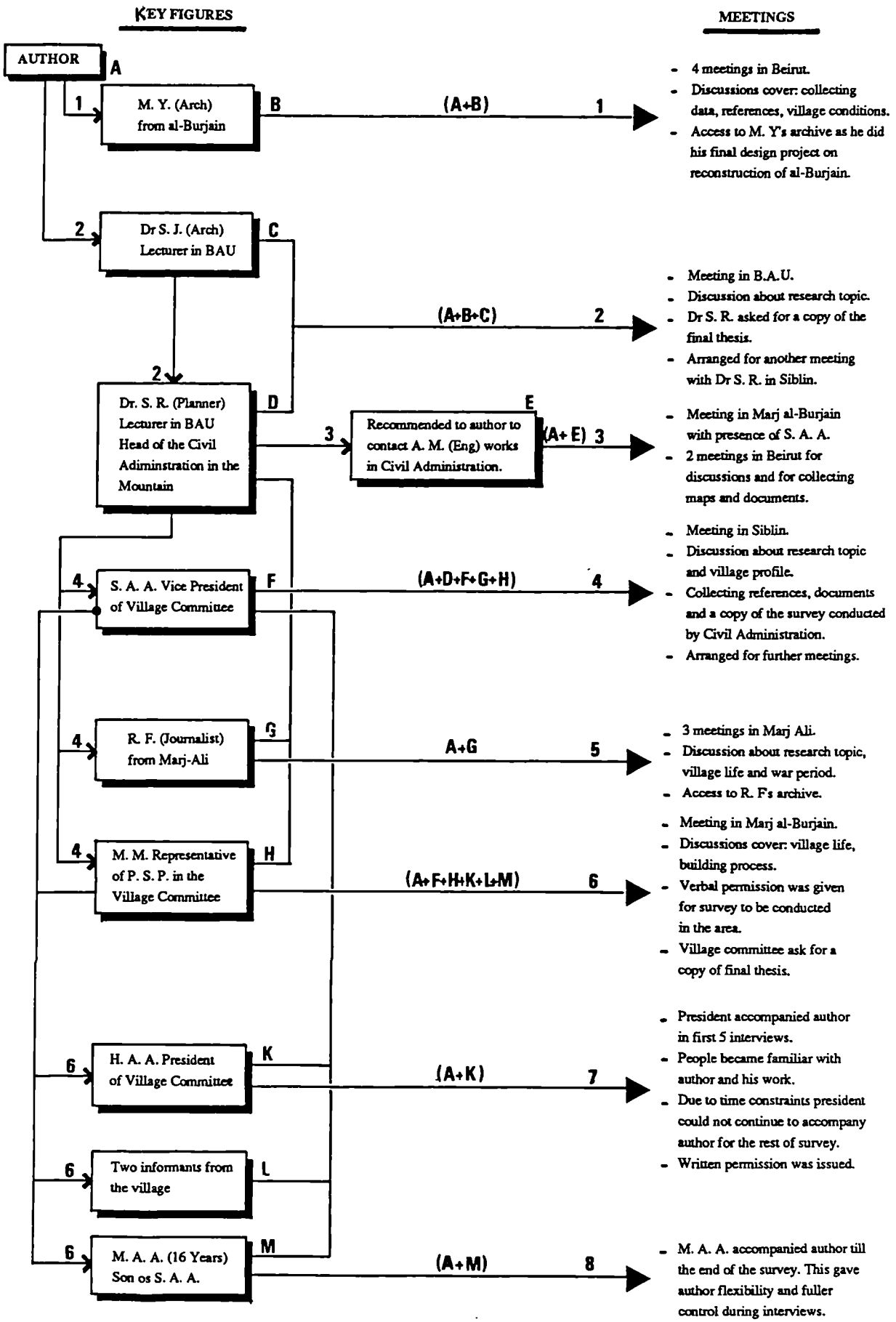


Fig 6.2: The Series of Meeting with Key Figures During the First Stage of the Fieldwork.

these key figures about the intention of the study and its importance. Therefore, in the early days of the project, the author found himself answering more questions than he asked. The entry process was characterized by two main features: first, that the key figures were more receptive to participating in the research than the author had anticipated; and second, despite this realization, the author had to overcome anxieties at the beginning of the fieldwork. He learned to cope with moderate states of uncertainty and to accept this as part of the field research experience. Some of these key figures are from the village while others are from outside with authority over the area; and others are simply knowledgeable about the village situation.

The second purpose of this stage was familiarisation with the local conditions. Visits to the study area and meetings with key figures helped considerably in getting a picture about the village case study. However, familiarisation was a double-sided operation; for the author to get a picture of the area and for the community to get used to the existence of a "stranger" [2] among them.

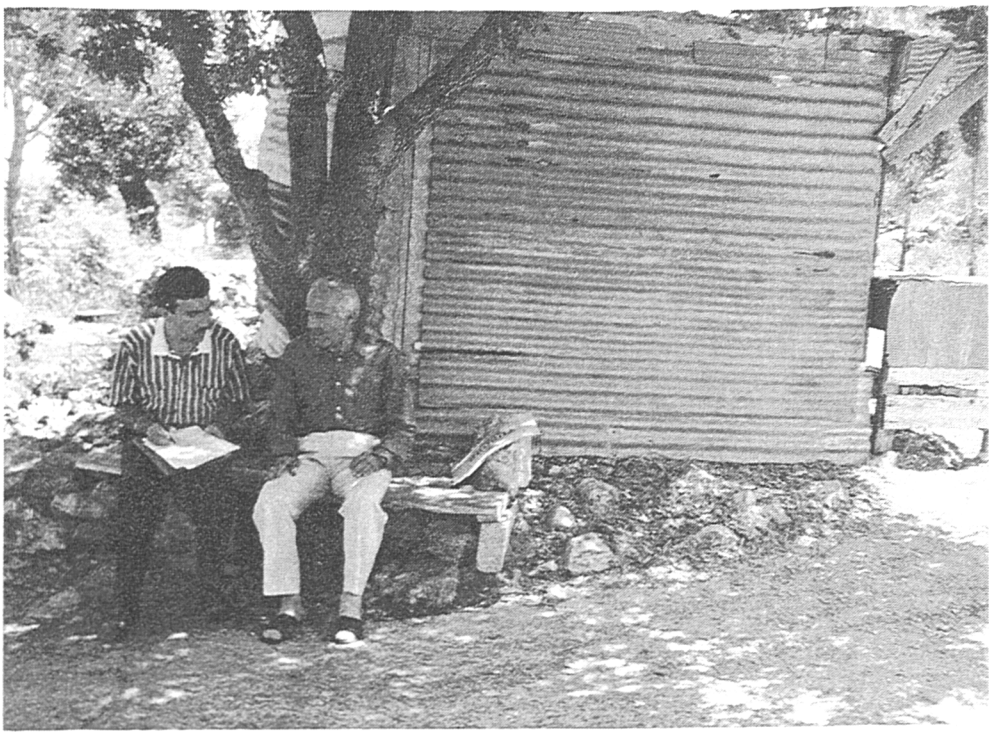
> [It is] a social exploration. We learn what we can in advance about this relatively unknown territory, but once we are there, the first requirement is to gain some initial familiarity with the local scene and establish a social base from which we can continue our exploration until we are able to study some parts of that territory systematically.
>
> (Whyte, 1981: 35)

During this stage, the association with key figures was also used to identify and collect necessary information about the village (discussions, personal archives, maps, photos, etc.) This is important as no complete data were available in one source. To avoid the risk of wasting time and never coming out with coherent information, a detailed checklist was prepared in advance which categorized and listed all information thought to be relevant (Appendix 6.1). During discussions with the key figures, relevant information was recorded in the appropriate category and sources of information were listed. However, the checklist was not a restriction to the discovery of new information emerging during the discussions.

Discussions with key figures were carried out either on individual bases or in groups (Fig. 6.3). Dealing with one key figure is easier and a relatively straightforward procedure as long as the areas for discussion are defined. Group discussion is organisationally more difficult than individual interviews which can be conducted in their homes and at more appropriate times. There are advantages and disadvantages of group discussions during this process. In terms of advantages, group discussions provide an essentially social context which oblige participants to take account of other people's views in framing their own response. Group discussions also help in stimulating discussions and in generating new ideas either by interaction with the members of the group or by listening and watching other peoples interactions. "There is more to react to, more food for thought, more diversity of opinion expressed than in a typical individual interview"(McNeill, 1985: 73). On the other hand, dominant figures can influence what is said and people may feel constrained in what they say in front of others. This was amplified when sensitive issues were discussed (political context, displacements, etc.). Furthermore, group discussions provided less opportunity to explore individual position in depth and breadth.

This stage (discussions with key figures) took time and effort equal to the main survey itself. But, this proved to be beneficial in facilitating the conduct of the subsequent survey and in anticipating some of the issues and problems in the early stages of the fieldwork. A few meetings were held after the completion of the survey either to report back for clarification or for collecting documents which were identified during previous meetings. Gaining access to the site and information was not a one-off event; it was instead a social process that occurred throughout the fieldwork phase.

The findings of this stage will be presented in terms of issues, ideas, experiences, views and the reported and logical relationships between them. During this stage, a general overview about the village (socio-economic, building process, problems, priorities, reconstruction issues, etc.) and verbal permission to conduct the fieldwork were gained. In terms of reconstruction activities three categories of families were identified:



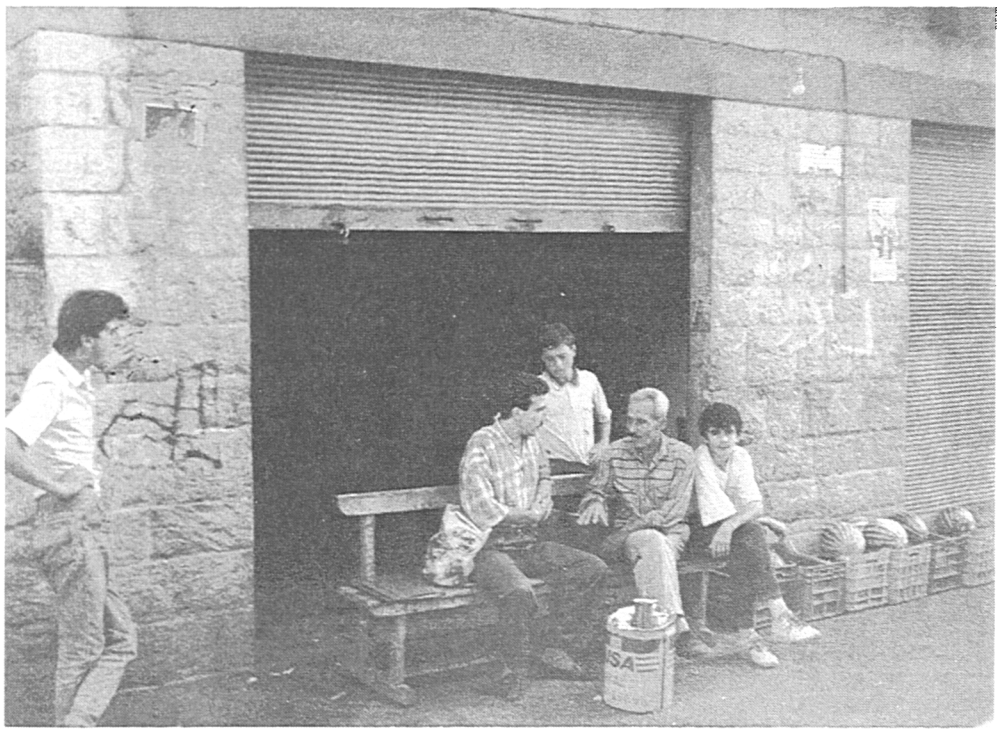


Fig. 6.3: Discussions with Key Figures form the Village.

- families who have not started reconstruction in al-Burjain, the original village, and are living in ad-Debbieh, the place of refuge;
- families who are living in ad-Debbieh and are in the process of rebuilding their dwellings in al-Burjain; and
- families who are living in al-Burjain after finishing most of the reconstruction works on their original dwellings.

After spending considerable time in the area, the author became aware of the local community structure and daily routines. He also became familiar with the people's housing process and issues of reconstruction under study. This prepared the way to the second stage in which one family of each category was the subject of in-depth investigation.

6.2.2 IN-DEPTH FAMILY CASE HISTORIES

The family case history method was used in the second stage of the inquiry; it served as a pilot study to test the methodology and interview techniques to be used in the larger survey. It was also employed in a somewhat exploratory manner in order to gain insights to people's conditions and to prioritise key issues.

> In analysing the experiences and attitudes of an individual, we always reach data and elementary facts which are not exclusively limited to this individual's personality; but can be treated as mere instances of more or less general classes of data or facts, and can thus be used for the determination of social becoming.
>
> (Plummer, 1983: 64)

The three family case histories have been selected to provide in-depth and detailed analysis about the people's socio-economic profiles, the general patterns of displacement, the building process, the problems facing the community before and after displacements and the people's perceptions about reconstruction. Together, these categories constitute story line which will be followed in presenting these cases in Chapter 7. In this sense, the family case history method serves as an "equivalent to the spotlight or microscope"

involving detailed examination of a few families from which a great deal could be learned (Hakim, 1987: 61-75). This detailed examination is not only descriptive, but comments and alternatives are discussed when certain issues are highlighted to provide solid grounds for considering action in future reconstruction.

> One of the principles of my work is to allow people to speak for themselves, to whatever extent this is possible, and in turn to communicate to them, in our conversations as well as in my writing, that it is their words I seek, and not material for the generation of something that ultimately transcends their words and hence their lives.
>
> (Cottle, quoted in Plummer, 1983: 84)

Finally, the stories and rich information of the three family case histories will help in better interpretation of the statistics derived from the survey analysis in Chapter 8. This provides better correlation between statistics and what they mean in the lives of the people in question, "or, to use Malinowski's terms, it puts flesh and blood on the skeleton" (Lewis, 1976: 3). On one hand, this method is flexible in obtaining rich and in-depth information. On the other hand, this flexibility demands effective note-taking, recording, observing and conversational ability from the investigator.

> Case study research is remarkably hard, even though case studies have traditionally been considered to be "soft" research. Paradoxically, the "softer" a research technique, the harder it is to do.
>
> (Yin, 1989: 26)

Despite the flexibility and the depth of information of the family case history method, generalization is often perceived as the major drawback of case study. However, Yin (1989: 21, 38) has argued that the aim of a case study is not to derive the findings from a sample to a population by using frequencies and enumeration (statistical generalization), but to generate patterns and relations of theoretical importance (analytic generalization) [3].

> The problem lies in the very notion of generalizing to other case studies. Instead, an analyst should try to generalize findings to "theory", analogous to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory.
>
> (Yin, 1989: 44)

Generalization could be achieved when the theory is tested through testing of the findings in similar cases. Once such test has been made, the results might be accepted for a lager number of similar situations (Yin, 1989: 44). No generalization is claimed, but special attention was to the selection of case studies to ensure the "typicality" of the sample interviewed. However, the family case history method was used in the wider context of the survey of forty households. This was the third stage of the fieldwork.

6.2.3 SURVEY: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Social surveys have been widely accepted by architects, planners and environmental designers as a basic tool for collecting data about people, their environment and the relationships between them. Surveys are categorized as either qualitative or quantitative and each one has its methods, strengths and weaknesses (Appendix 6.2). There is no recipe or formula for the choice between the two categories; as the choice is influenced by many factors, resources, accessibility, appropriateness, etc.

The choice of a qualitative type of survey was not only influenced by practical and economic reasons. A qualitative approach presents the best means of obtaining in-depth detail and rich information about a small number of cases (breadth versus depth) [4]; in-depth details about the respondents' socio-economic conditions, the ways they have organised their world, their thoughts about their built environment, their experiences, and their perceptions about future reconstruction of their village. This is particularly useful for understanding issues in which processes and connections are important (visible and invisible structures of the built environment).

> ... to understand the process of housing and the invisible structures which shape those processes we need stories which correctly represent the world out there into which housing programmes intervene. We need, in other words, correct stories about process, about connections, and about the working rules of the housing system.
>
> (Peattie, 1983: 231)

This increases understanding of the cases but reduces generalizability. Therefore, the qualitative survey could not be grounded on established statistical techniques as is the case with quantitative studies because of the selection procedure of the cases. But validity and reliability could be enhanced during the sampling process to ensure "representativeness" beyond the "numbers game" [5].

6.2.3.1 SAMPLING

Sampling is the procedure by which some part of a larger body is selected to represent the whole. The procedures for selecting cases are varied, but they fall into two broad classifications: probability and non-probability samples. The sample size is forty households equivalent to 334 persons.

> The validity, meaningfulness and insight generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capability of the researcher than with sample size.
>
> (Patton, 1990: 185)

Three essential factors have influenced the use of a non-probability sample. First is the lack of basic details (number of families, maps) from which a probability sampling frame could be constructed. Second is the suitability of non-probability sampling to the type of inquiry based on deep understanding of the processes, issues and perceptions. Third are the practical considerations in conducting the interviews in the study area (willingness to take part in interviews) .

However, the selection of the sampling unit was not haphazard, as a practical sampling framework was developed to identify the cases. The development of the frame was guided by the information gained during the first two stages of the fieldwork: discussions with key figures and the family histories. The criteria for selection are the different categories of households who represent different housing situations (stratified purposeful sampling). These categories are:

- displaced households who are living in ad-Debbieh and have not started rebuilding in al-Burjain (17 households);
- displaced households who are living in ad-Debbieh and are rebuilding their original houses in al-Burjain (14 households); and
- households who are living in the original houses after finishing most of the reconstruction work on their original dwellings (9 households).

The number of households in each category was governed by cases who were willing to be interviewed. However, the analysis of the survey will combine the three categories together. The reason for this combination is that shared characteristics are dominant, and the households exhibit similar socio-economic profiles and similar housing processes prior to destruction. But, the distinctive features of each category of households will be identified and discussed.

In each category, further sub criteria were also set up to ensure a more complete and comprehensive picture of the situation. The sampling framework was established to enhance validity and credibility by covering different situations and conditions This frame represents the basis of selection of the sampling unit in order to cover:

- different locations of dwelling such as: main road, secondary road and footpath;
- different physical conditions of dwelling such as: good and bad, old and modern;
- different family groups: surname used as a mean for selecting the cases; and
- different respondents from the households interviewed (Fig. 6.4).

6.2.3.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

The survey uses a semi-structured interview which aims to understand people's views and judgments, and to discover the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences. This type of qualitative interview recognizes that the perspective of others is

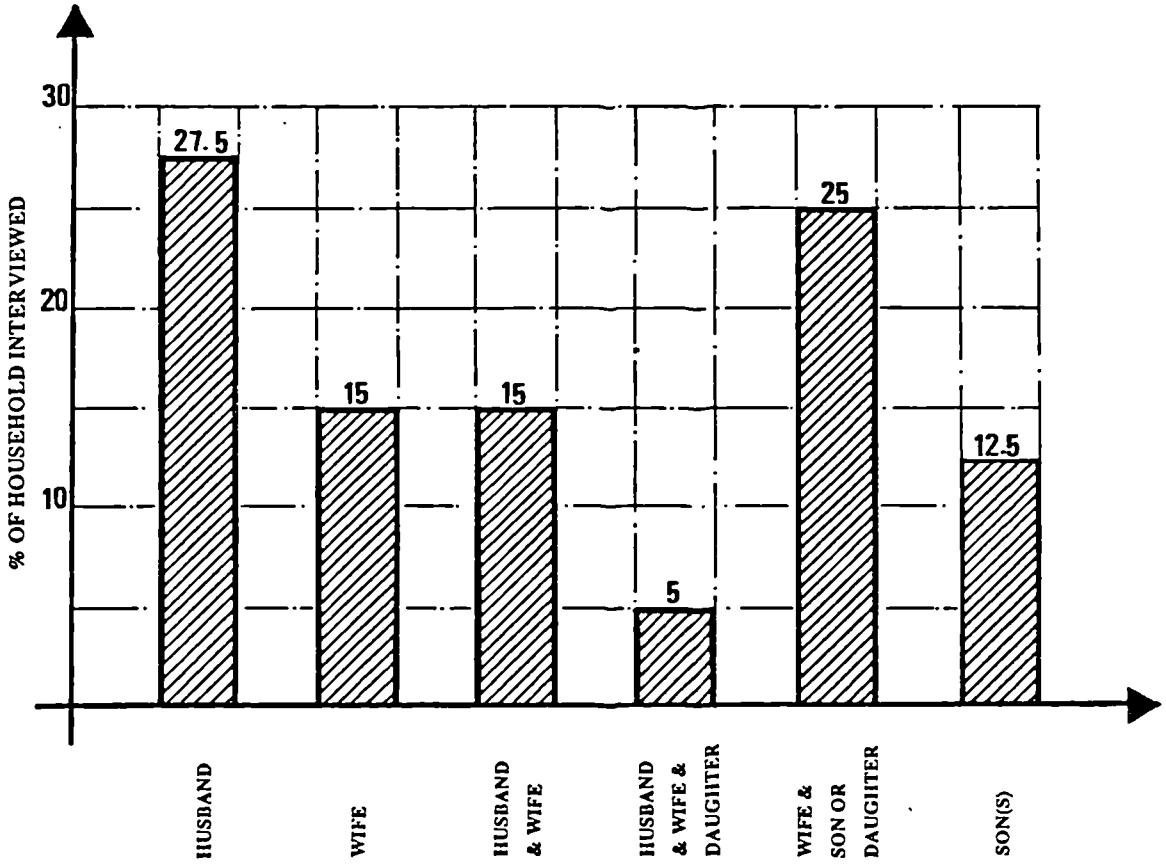


Fig. 6.4: Respondent's Relationship to Household Interviewed.

meaningful and able to be explicit. We enter the field without predetermined answers or categories which might constrain respondents' answers. Hence, such interviewing aims to capture what is in someone else's mind and to find out about things we cannot directly observe.

> The fact of the matter is that we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organised their world; the word and meaning they attach to what goes on in the world.
>
> (Patton, 1990: 278)

This requires skill and experience from the interviewer and most of all the ability to listen when "knowledgeable people" [6] are talking. Patton (1990: 280-290) lists three variations of interview for collecting qualitative data. Each has strengths and weaknesses and differs in the extent in which interview questions ar determined and standardized before the interview occurs (Appendix 6.3). The approaches are:(1) the informal conversational interview, (2) the general interview guide approach commonly known as semi-structured interview [7] and (3) the standardized open-ended interview.

The second approach was chosen due to its suitability to the type of investigation which combines the positive aspects of the other two. A semi-structured interview consists of a list of issues and questions that are to be discussed during an interview.

> An interview guide is prepared to make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material [standardized character]. The interview guide provides topics or subject areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style [conversational character] - but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.
>
> (Patton, 1990: 283)

The technique is somewhat systematic by covering the same issues for each respondent which facilitates, to a certain extent, recording and analysis. However, it is not important that questions are asked in the same way or in the same order for all respondents. The

interview can be developed in more or less detail, depending on the extent to which the researcher is able to specify important issues during the course of the interview. The structure of the semi-structured interview was adjusted and refined after the first two stages of the fieldwork and consists of the following major issues (Appendix 6.4):

- the socio-economic conditions of the people;
- housing conditions before displacements: building process, materials used, space arrangements, problems, etc.;
- displacements and housing provision; and
- perceptions about house/village reconstruction: relation between physical and non-physical reconstruction, actions, potential for improvements, etc.

The semi-structured interview was filled in during the interview and supplemented by notes, observations, photos and sketches; these were integrated approaches with interviewing:

> observational evidence is often useful in providing additional information about the topic being studied. ... The observations can be so useful that an investigator may even consider taking photographs at the case study site. At a minimum, these photographs will help to convey important case characteristics to outside observers.
>
> (Yin, 1989: 91-92)

6.2.3.3 DIFFICULTIES IN CONDUCT OF THE SURVEY

The political context and practical factors forced many limitations upon the survey which was conducted solely by the author. The survey was limited to 40 households and two groups were excluded from it. The first group consisted of Christian households living in East Beirut and its surroundings; this was due to the intermittent fighting between the Christian groups at that time (Lebanese Forces and General Aoun's Army). However, this omission was largely compensated by library-research and discussions with key figures which provided an understanding into the socio-economic situation and attitudes of the Christian group. Moreover, interviewing the Muslim community in ad-Debbieh (a

neighbouring predominantly Christian village) provided insights into their built environment: house components, materials used, processes, house types, etc.). The second group excluded from the survey comprised the Muslim households from al-Burjain living in West Beirut as they do not face problems and their number is too small (10 cases).

During the first few days of the survey, the president of the village committee, who accompanied the author, recommended the cases for selection. It was noticed that the president tended to identify cases of similar surname (his own family). However, after four cases the president, due to his responsibilities and time constraints issued a written permission allowing the author to conduct the survey (Appendix 6.5).

Using "the social base", established in the first two stages of the fieldwork, the author was able to identify a key figure - the vice-president's son of 16 years old - to accompany him during the survey. A local person was crucial for introducing the author to the households and for facilitating the work. This was a turning point in which complete control of the survey - flexibility in time, and freedom in selection of cases and discussions - began to be achieved by the author.

6.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the research methods used during the fieldwork in order to understand the victims needs and the local conditions of the village case study. It was revealed that this understanding should be based on the victims' perspectives rather than the intervenors' (donors and researchers) interests and prejudice.

Three complementary methods were used for assessing the people's needs in one of the war-damaged villages in Lebanon (al-Burjain). These were: (1) discussions with key figures, (2) in-depth family histories and (3) the survey employing semi-structured interviews. Common features of these methods are flexibility, potential to obtain a deep

understanding of people's views, experiences and housing processes. It is a qualitative approach which provides a framework within which respondents can express their own views in their own terms. The three methods present different degrees of focus on the issue of reconstruction. In this sense, they are interrelated and complementary to each other; one prepared the ground for the next.

The analysis of the discussions with key figures - first stage of the fieldwork - provides an overview of village conditions, while the family histories - second stage - concentrate on household experiences before and after the war. The analysis of these two stages is the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

[1] **Negotiating Tactics:** This expression was used by Shaffir and Stebbins (1991: 73). The uniqueness of each setting requires different tactics (friendliness, humour, sharing, networks, contact) that come to be employed. This depends on the researcher's ability to engage in sociable behaviour that secures access to the setting.

[2] **Stranger:** In general, the people of a Lebanese village are close to each other. This closeness is based on strong blood ties and kinship structures. Hence, it is very easy for an outsider to be identified who is then referred to as a stranger. For example, a man from a neighbouring village married a woman from al-Burjain which became the place of residence of the family. After 20 years, the man is still considered a stranger.

[3] **Analytic Generalization:** Yin (1989: 44) explains: "this approach is well illustrated by Jane Jacobs in her famous book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961). The book is based mostly on experiences from New York City. However, the chapter topics, rather than reflecting the single experiences of New York, cover broader theoretical issues in urban planning, such as the role of sidewalks, the role of neighbourhood parks, the need for primary mixed uses, the need for small blocks, and the process of slumming and unslumming. In the aggregate, these issues in fact represent the building of a theory of urban planning.
Jacob's book created heated controversy in the planning profession. As a partial result, new empirical inquiries were made in other locales, to examine one or another facet of her rich and provocative ideas. Her theory, in essence, became the vehicle for examining other cases, and the theory still stands as a significant contribution to the field of urban planning."

[4] **Breadth Versus Depth:** For fuller accounts about this argument, refer to Patton (1991: 165-168).

[5] **Numbers Game:** Patton (1990: 478-479) writes about this point: "It is ... helpful to understand the special seductiveness of numbers in modern society. Numbers convey a sense of precision and accuracy even if the measurements that yielded the numbers are relatively unreliable, invalid, and meaningless ... Thus, by knowing the strengths and weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative data, the evaluator can help stakeholders focus on really important questions rather than, as something happens, focusing primarily on how to generate numbers."

[6] **Listening to Knowledgeable People:** Yin (1989: 68) argues that listening should not be limited to the aural modality, but should include sensing and observing. A good listener hears the exact words used by the interviewee (sometimes, the terminology reflects an important orientation), captures the mood and effective components, and understands the context from which the interviewee is perceiving the world.

[7] **Semi-Structured Interview:** This will be used instead of general interview guide approach, because this expression has gained a common currency.

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CHAPTER SEVEN:

ANALYSIS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY FIGURES AND IN-DEPTH FAMILY CASE HISTORIES

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY FIGURES AND IN-DEPTH FAMILY CASE HISTORIES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Chapter Six three methods were employed to examine in detail the issue of reconstruction in al-Burjain; the village case study. This chapter, divided into two parts, concentrates on the analysis and synthesis of information and data collected during the first two stages of the fieldwork: discussions with key figures and in-depth family case histories. It aims to provide insights into the socio-economic and physical characteristics of the village. Understanding these characteristics is imperative to planning for a reconstruction programme tailored to local conditions and needs.

It should be noted that some figures used in this chapter are recent and represent the situation after the destruction of the village. Thus, these intended to serve a proxy function rather than to represent the precise situation prior to destruction.

7.2 THE VILLAGE CONTEXT

The first part of this chapter categorizes and analyses the raw data collected during discussions with the key figures (individual and group interviews, inspection of relevant documents and observations). This part provides a basic study of the village and its environment - physical and social - in order to gain an understanding of the context and factors which will shape the reconstruction process.

7.2.1 PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The village of al-Burjain is situated in al-Shuf district (known as the Mountain Area) of Mount-Lebanon Governate. It is a part of the Carob District *(Eqlim al-Carob)* which takes its name after the carob trees widely grown in the area. The location is the centre of three major roads and the village is locally known as "the bride of *al-Eqlim*". The distance to the capital Beirut is 39 km and to Sidon is 20 km. This location made it subject to urban influences and encouraged the active population to seek employment and education in urban centres (Fig. 7.1).

The topography of the village is mountainous with a flat area to the west. The village area is about 452 hectares (al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7). Even prior to destruction, no cadastral was available for al-Burjain due to conflicts which arose among the different groups and families over land boundaries and ownership. A compromise solution settled the issue, leaving the village without a detailed survey. The division of the village into two quarters, on an east-west basis along the axis of the main road, reflects the spatial control of the two religious groups; Christian to the east and Muslim to the west [1]. This spatial pattern of social control is consistent with the old pattern of settlement of the two groups on the village location (Fig. 7.2a & 7.2b). Despite this sharp demarcation, a few households from each group were living outside their own respective areas.

7.2.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The history of the village is deep-rooted in the past; it is an obscure past. Caves and ruins indicate that the village was inhabited during the Stone Age. With the arrival of the Romans (1st century BC), two towers were built in the village to protect and control the area; hence the name al-Burjain (the two towers). According to oral tradition, the village was owned three hundred years ago by feudal families, especially Al Junblat (Druze), and a tax collector dealt on their behalf with the inhabitants.

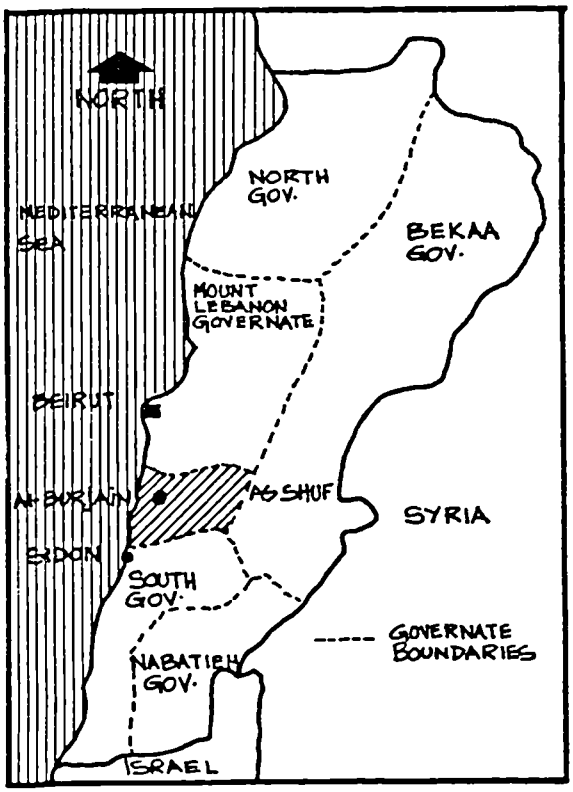


Fig. 7.1: Location of al-Burjain.

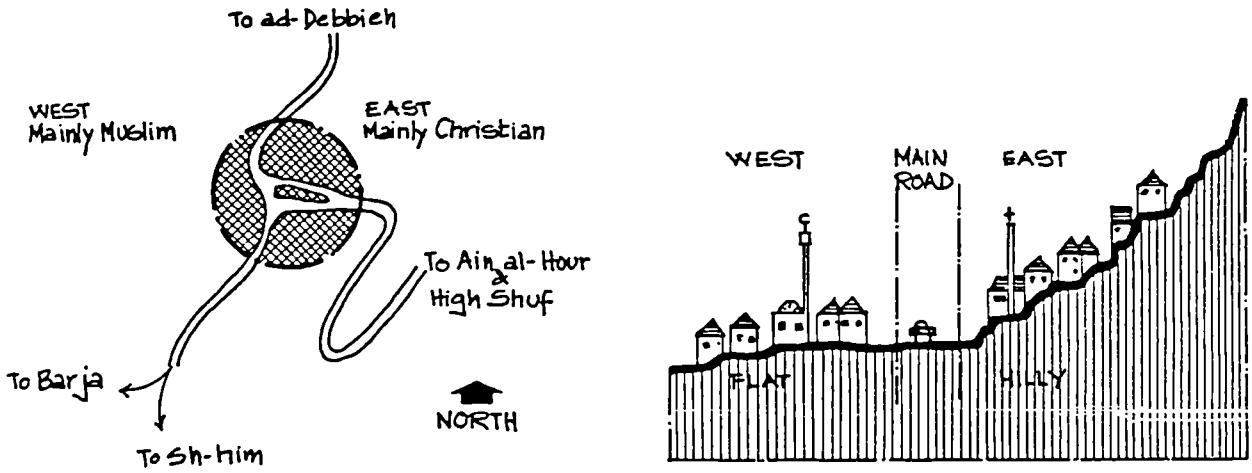


Fig. 7.2a: Spatial Control of the Two Religious Groups in al-Burjain.

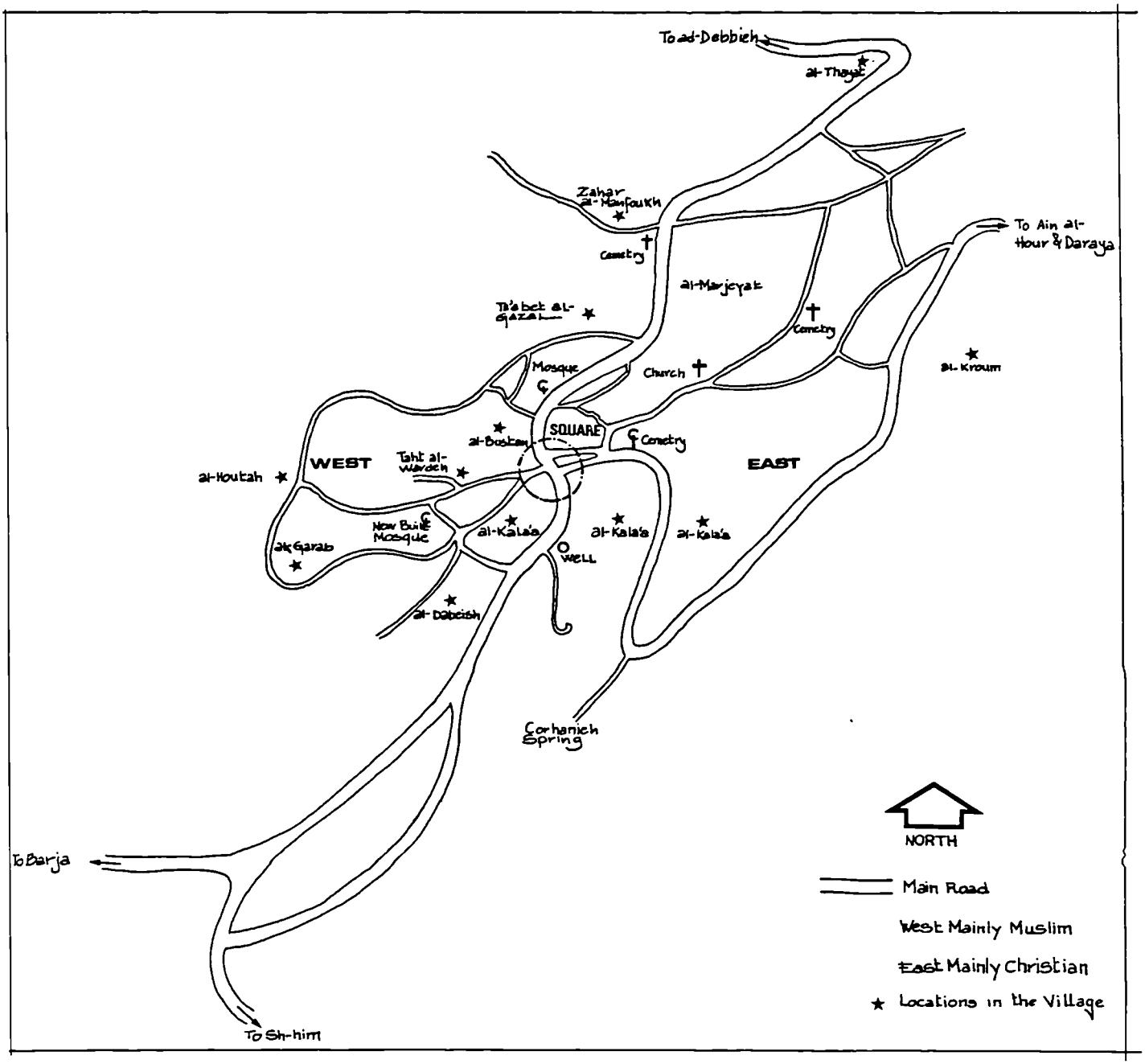


Fig. 7.2b: Locations and Road Networks in al-Burjain.
Source: This map was developed out of sketches drawn by Yassin, (1991) and a 1:20,000 map obtained from the Planning Department.

With the progress of time, land and property were gradually bought by the inhabitants. However, no available documents give a detailed and accurate account of the establishment and growth of the village [2].

After the independence of Lebanon from the French in 1943, rapid changes and transformations affected all aspects of village life: social, economic, political, educational, etc. In fact, al-Burjain is a typical example of a Lebanese village which has been undergoing change due to the modernization process (refer to Chapter 5). Changes in the material aspects of culture were more articulated and deeper than the non-material ones. The articulation in the physical aspects was accelerated by the 1956 earthquake which hit the village and many others. Modern building materials (cement, steel and concrete blocks) were distributed by the National Institute for Reconstruction. This introduced major changes in building techniques and materials [3]. The diminishing importance of the public square and transformation in the dwelling (form and materials) were the results of such changes which altered completely the traditional image and character of the village. In al-Burjain, the change in building materials is illustrated by data collected after the destruction of the village (1983).

Building Materials	No. of Buildings Surveyed (PSP)	No. of Buildings Surveyed (Yassin)
Stone	21	37
Concrete	63	98
Mixed	45	41
No response	3	--
Total	132	176

Table 7.1: Classification of Buildings According to Materials Used in al-Burjain. Source: PSP (1985) Survey and Yassin (n.d) Personal Archive [4].

It was apparent during the discussions with key figures that the traditional form of the village (space organizations, square, dwellings, etc.) was not only limited to the physical attributes, but it was also associated with certain ways of life. These were aptly described

as "simple and natural, good and beautiful, blessed and secured, human and moral". The contented ways of life were summarized during discussions by the following proverb: "a satisfied peasant is a hidden sultan". However, with modernization, external cultural forces have started to coexist with the traditional patterns, creating a duality in the cultural pattern: old versus new, tradition versus modern, localism versus nationalism, etc.

7.2.2.1 THE WAR AND DISPLACEMENTS

The symbiosis of the two communities of the village (Muslim and Christian) survived the first eight years of the civil war through different political arrangements and mixed popular committees. With the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the power in the Mountain Area shifted from the Progressive Socialist Party (Druze) to the Lebanese Forces (Christian) which dominate East Beirut and its surroundings [5]. The development of military activities in the area forced the inhabitants to flee the village, on 6 September 1983, to join their respective religious groups. The number of Muslim families who fled the village was estimated at 181 (Table 7.2). The greater proportion of these families moved to Sh-him; a Muslim town nearby. The Christian families - no estimate available - moved first to the east of Sidon and to the South of Lebanon dominated by the Christian forces as the route to Beirut was insecure. Later they moved by sea to East Beirut and its surroundings (Figure 7.3).

	No. of Families (Muslim)	Destination
	137	Sh-him
	30	Beirut
	10	South Lebanon
	4	al-Bekaa
Total	181 Families	

Table 7.2: Pattern of First Displacement of Muslim Families who Fled the Village. Source: an-Nida'a 12/4/1984.

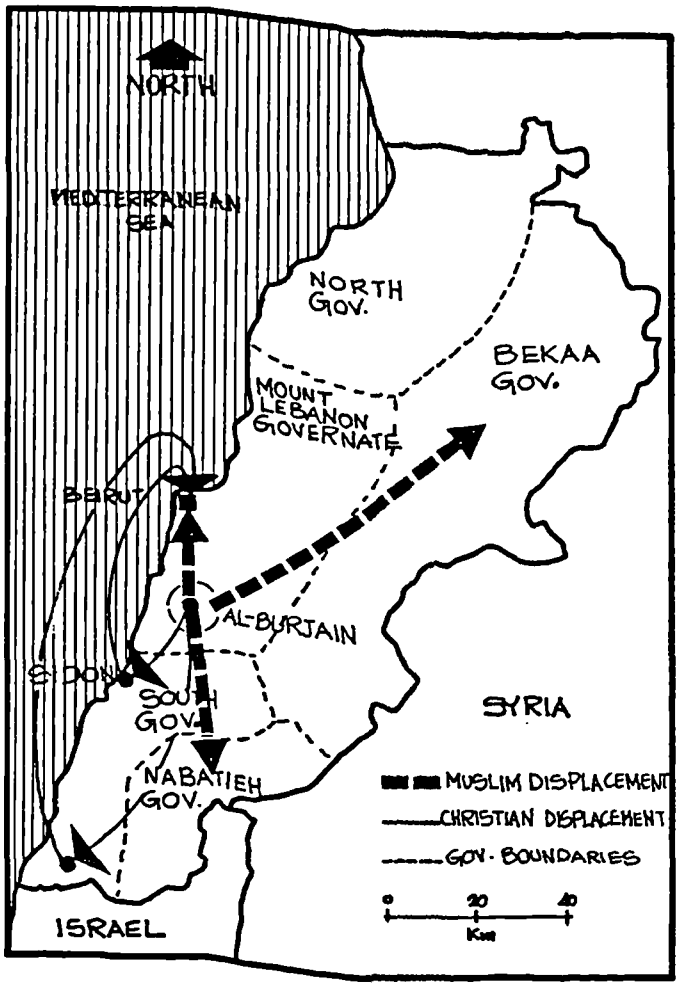


Fig. 7.3: Pattern of First Displacements of Families (Muslim & Christian) who Fled From al-Burjain.
Source: an-Nida'a 12/4/1984.

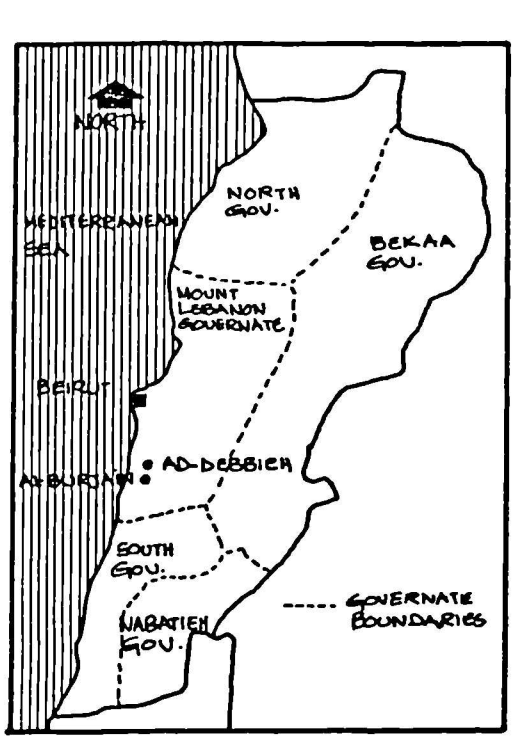
However, the deterioration in the situation in the Mountain Area obliged both groups (Muslim and Christian) to move again to safer parts of Lebanon. The pattern of these movements was developed according to the military actions in the different areas. On 28 April 1985, after the Israelis left the Mountain Area, the PSP regained control over this territory from the Lebanese Forces. As a result of this conflict a major part of the village was razed to the ground (Fig. 7.4). A newspaper report described the village as the "ruins and fragments ... [once] ... to be named al-Burjain" [6] (Table 7.3).

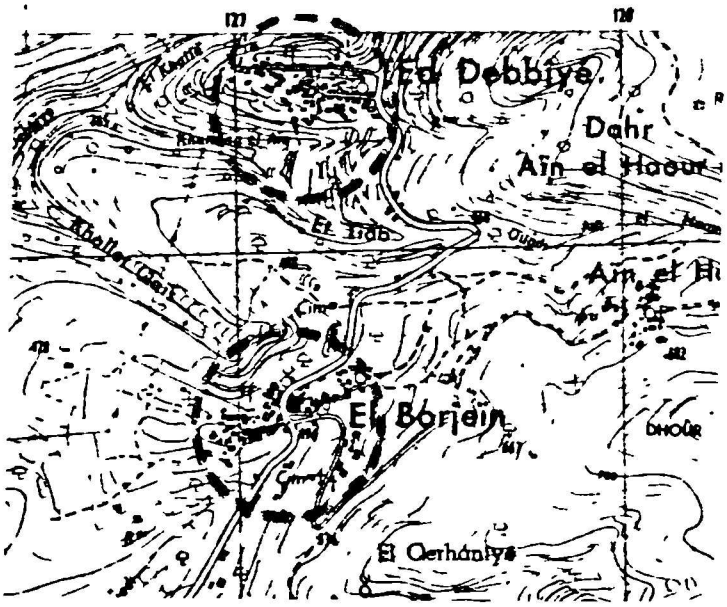
Dwelling Conditions	Number
Completely destroyed	88
Partially destroyed	17
Damaged	20
No response	7
Total	132

Table 7.3: Damage Assessment of Dwellings in al-Burjain.
Source: PSP Survey (1985).

Moreover, many other villages have suffered destruction and displacement. One of them is ad-Debbieh, a Christian village whose people left during the "Mountain War". It was fortunate to escape complete destruction and since 28 April 1985 has become the main refuge of the Muslim families from al-Burjain (Fig. 7.5). Both Muslim and Christian families have suffered from conflict whose price has been paid by innocent people. After the PSP regained power over al-Burjain, a 70-year-old woman described the crisis by pointing to a building reduced to rubble: "This is my house: it had a *Kabow* [vault], a *Harah* [first floor] of 4 rooms, two separate rooms and *Hawakir* [vegetable and fruit gardens] and trees. I did not belong to any party; ... like my house ... I am from the party of woods and olives" (an-Nida'a, 8/6/1985: 7).

Fig. 7.4: Views of Damage in al-Burjain.





Source: Archive of Planning Department (Beirut).

Fig. 7.5: Location of Original Village (al-Burjain) and Place of Refuge (ad-Debbieh).

This story could be heard all over. Concerning the occupation of houses in ad-Debbieh, the following conversation documented in the same newspaper is illustrative of the dilemma and predicament of the uprooted community:

> * Are you going to stay in ad-Debbieh?
> - I am going to stay here till the government rebuild my house.
> * If the government turns a blind eye?
> - If the government turns a blind eye I will do the same and stay in ad-Debbieh.
> * And if the people of ad-Debbieh return to their houses after a political solution?
> - We can stay together; one room for them and one room for us.
> * If the Christian family said to you; I did not destroy your house?
> - I will say to them: I did not destroy your house; I protected it.
>
> (an-Nida'a, 8/6/1985: 7)

Several major points and a wide range of issues were highlighted during the discussions with key figures, and from the analysis of relevant reports and newspapers which describe the village conditions prior to destruction. These can be summarized as follows:

- The village was a typical example of symbiosis between the two religious sects (Sunni-Muslim and Maronite-Christian) and social interaction between them was limited to special occasions such as festivals, weddings, funerals, etc. Within the same sect, relations among the different families were established on the basis of kinship ties and reinforced by intermarriages (refer to Chapter 5).

- The village and dwelling have significant importance in the villagers' life as they are associated with continuity, identity, security, satisfaction and an attachment to the land. Thus, strong emotional feelings dominated the discussion of this point.

- The unproductive agriculture sector and the lack of job opportunities, especially for the younger generation, encouraged people to prefer "salaried and secure jobs" such as in the armed forces, internal security forces and the teaching profession, where they would receive regular monthly incomes.

- Key figures, mainly the older generation, frequently praised the "pleasant and contented life of the village environment before destruction" and condemned city life for its materialism and for the deterioration of its morals.

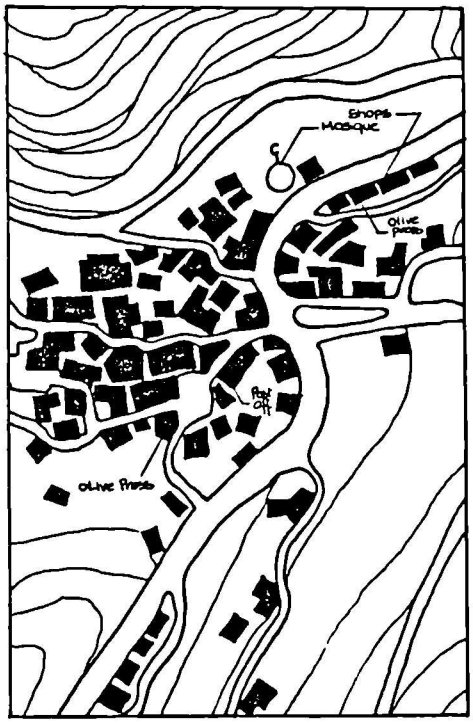
- The villagers were confronted with many problems; lack of sufficient water supply especially in summer, and the problems of roads and access to houses due to the compact physical structure of the village (Fig. 7.6). The magnitude of poor access becomes clear from an estimate which suggests that, in 1990, the 312 families from the village have 293 cars (al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7). Despite this figure having been collected after the destruction of the village, it gives an indication of the magnitude of the problem of access in the village prior to destruction (Table 7.4).

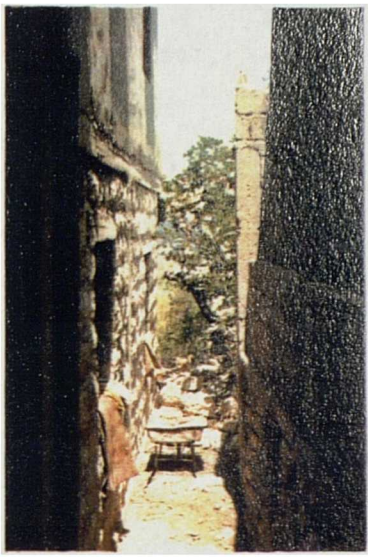
Building Location	**Number (PSP)**	**Number (Yassin)**
Main road	43	66
Secondary road	17	41
Footpath	48	69
No response	24	--
Total	132	176

Table 7.4: Location of Buildings in Relation to Road Types.
Source: PSP (1985) Survey; Yassin (n.d) Personal Archive.

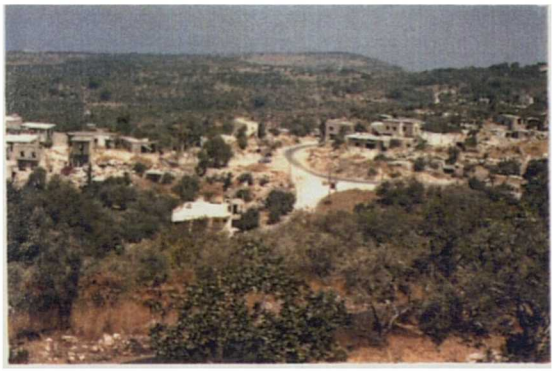
7.2.3 SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The village community consists of two religious groups, Sunni Muslim (60%) and Maronite Christian (40%), and the total size of the community is estimated as 312 families with an average of 5.5 persons per household (al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7). Regarding population, it must be noted that data collected during this stage are not necessarily in harmony with each other. However, the population growth is illustrated in the following:





Source: Yassin, 1988: 183.



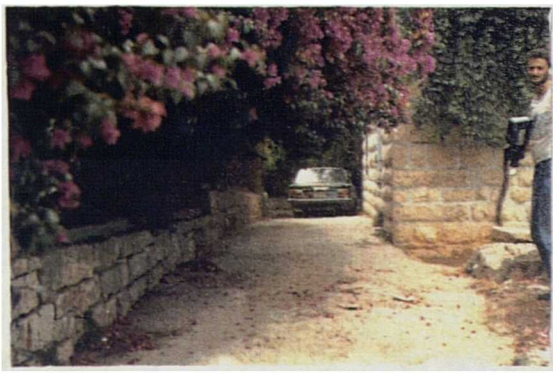


Fig. 7.6: Views Show Compact Nature of al-Burjain.

Year	Sources al-Lewa'a	Yassin	Key figures
1965	723	------	------
1988	------	2500	------
1990	1715	------	2400
2015	3028	------	------

Table 7.5: Population Growth and Projection for al-Burjain.
Source: al-Lewa'a (24/5/1990: 7), Yassin (1988: 183), Key figures (1990).

It was clear from discussions with key figures that family comes on top of the hierarchy of social groupings and provides its members with material as well as moral support. Family forms an "organic solidarity" as a single social and economic unit. The social status of an individual is determined more by his family background. Moreover, the number of extended family members is an important index in determining social control and prestige. As listed in order of size by the president of the village committee, the Muslim families of the village are: Abu Aram, Yassin, al-Shami, Mahmoud, Asaad, Hatoum, Slim, Saleh and Hannoush. The Christian families are: Lutfi, Ma'awad, al-Hashim, Abu Shakra and al-Jurdi. Within each religious group, relations between families are consolidated through inter-marriage and kinship ties. In terms of the two groups (Muslim and Christian), harmony was maintained by the generous use of friendly gestures and formulas of politeness. This was limited to the exchange of visits and gifts on such occasions as feasts, births, weddings and funerals. Village affairs were managed by a municipal council comprising a mayor and six others who constituted an administrative branch of central government. Of course, religion, family background and social status played a major role in the election of this council.

An important feature of the community is the high level of education, indicating the effect *of modernization on the community's traditional patterns.* Education has became another factor in determining prestige. In 1990, it was estimated that 70% of the population were literate and a high percentage were university-educated:

20 doctors
10 proceeding medical studies
25 Engineers and Architects
05 University teachers
50 Finished university studies
50 Proceeding university studies

(al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7)

In respect of students at preparatory and secondary levels, the number was estimated to be 215, of which 100 were in ad-Debbieh and 115 were studying in the surrounding villages (al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7). Of course this feature has impacts on the future occupational structure of the community, on the agriculture sector and on people's perceptions regarding the reconstruction of their village.

7.2.4 ECONOMIC SITUATION

The economic base of the village has been dramatically affected by the modernization process. A shift occurred from agriculture and farming activities to salaried jobs which encouraged more contact with the surrounding areas and urban centres. Yassin (1988: 183) estimates the occupational structure of the active population as follows: 10% farmers, 40% in public administration and 50% in private sector or self employed.

The unproductive agriculture sector has encouraged people to favour salaried jobs, mainly in the armed forces, internal security forces and education. Therefore, agriculture has become a secondary source of income in the village. A variety of crops are cultivated in the area; carob, grapes and olives [7] are of economic interest. Lemons, oranges, figs, almonds, mulberries and some vegetables are grown for local consumption. During discussions, it was clear that the practices and techniques were, and still are, suffering from many constraints:

- Lack of irrigation, modern machinery and an adequate network of agricultural roads; this is made more difficult by the high cost of fertilizers.
- Paucity of agriculture research and development pursuits.

- Lack of government support, protection against external competition (laissez-faire economy) and provision of appropriate marketing facilities.
- Inadequate land distribution which is governed by an inheritance system which encourages the sub-division of land into small separate plots.

7.2.5 SURVIVAL AND RECONSTRUCTION

After 28 April 1985, the village entered another phase. Muslim families returned to al-Burjain to find most of their houses flattened. With the help of the village committee, the majority of families moved to settle in ad-Debbieh (an evacuated Christian village). Ever since, the community has been benefited from many activities relating to survival and reconstruction. These activities could be summarized as follows:

- Some repair works to water and electricity networks (in ad-Debbieh and al-Burjain), opening up 3 km of internal roads; to complement this, a well was dug in al-Burjain, partly solving the water shortage.

- Rehabilitating two rooms in ad-Debbieh to serve as a school, substituting for the damaged school in the original village (Fig. 7.7a) and rebuilding a small mosque in the original village which manifests the attachment of the people to their original village (Fig. 7.7b).

- 500 tonnes of cement were allocated by the PSP to help the people of al-Burjain to rebuild their houses (help from a local leader). 150 tonnes were distributed to 15 persons but the project stopped due to "unspecified problems".

- Distribution of fertilizers by the Catholic Relief organisation to encourage agricultural rehabilitation; and distribution of food and mattresses by other relief agencies.

Fig. 7.7a: A House of Two Rooms Converted for Use as a School in ad-Debbieh.

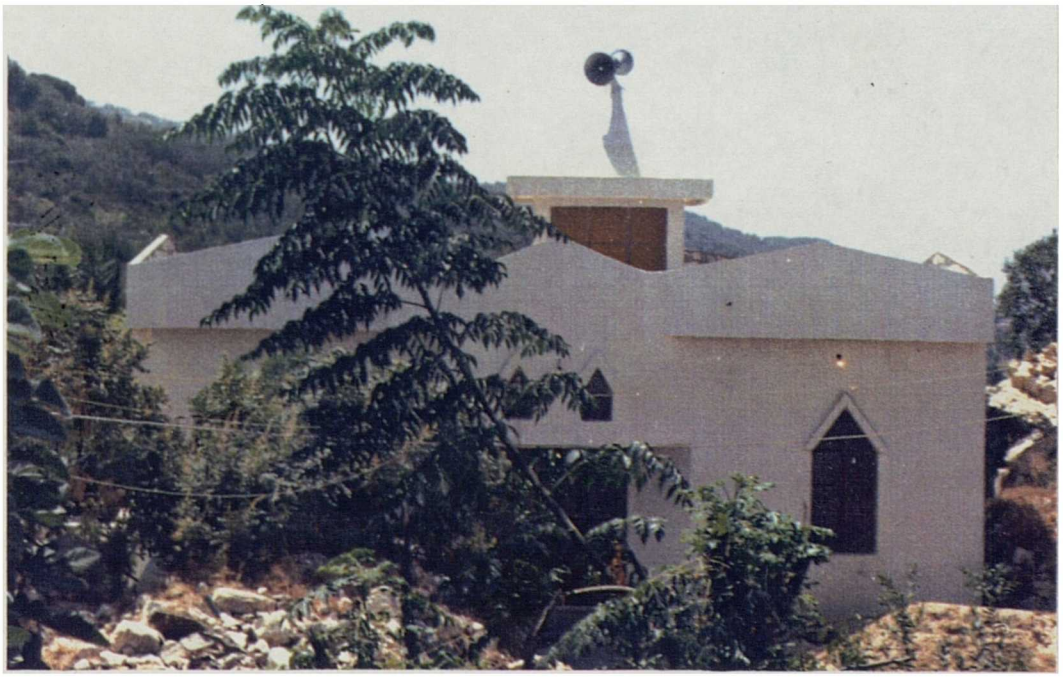


Fig. 7.7b: A Small Mosque Rebuilt in al-Burjain after its Destruction.

- The Progressive Socialist Party conducted a damage survey in 1985 and Beirut Arab University has encouraged students of Civil Engineering and Architecture to conduct study projects in the village. Later the village was the subject of a graduation project in Architecture (M. Yassin from the village) (Fig. 7.8). As a result an exhibition of those projects was held on 18 January 1986.

Despite the good intentions of these activities to solve some of the more immediate and urgent problems, they lack both coordination and comprehensive planning and have generated negative aspects by rising people's expectations unrealistically.

> We, in the village, do not need food aid; we do not need rice, lentils, chick peas and broad beans. We need financial assistance to rebuild al-Burjain which we are still attached to while we are living here and there. We live in houses which are not ours and in dwellings which do not belong to us.
>
> (al-Lewa'a 24/5/1990)

The people misunderstood the purpose of the projects carried out by students from BAU; they thought that the university was going to rebuild the village. However, these projects were criticized because they prepared for "a typical village which will cost an astronomic amount of money". Moreover, the government concentration on urban reconstruction projects of commercial and touristic nature has forced people to ask: "why they do not talk about rebuilding a complete village instead of always talking about reconstruction of the commercial centre of Beirut?" (al-Lewa'a, 24/5/1990: 7).

Therefore, plans and talks about rebuilding the village were described as "promises on paper which did not bear any fruits". According to the President of the Committee, 300,000m^2 of land in al-Burjain, were sold to outsiders to enable some families to rebuild their houses. These families gave up any hope of help and support, thus they took the initiative in their hands. However, not all families of the village are in the same condition and three groups can be identified:

- Families who are living in ad-Debbieh - the place of refuge - and have not started rebuilding in al-Burjain - the original village.

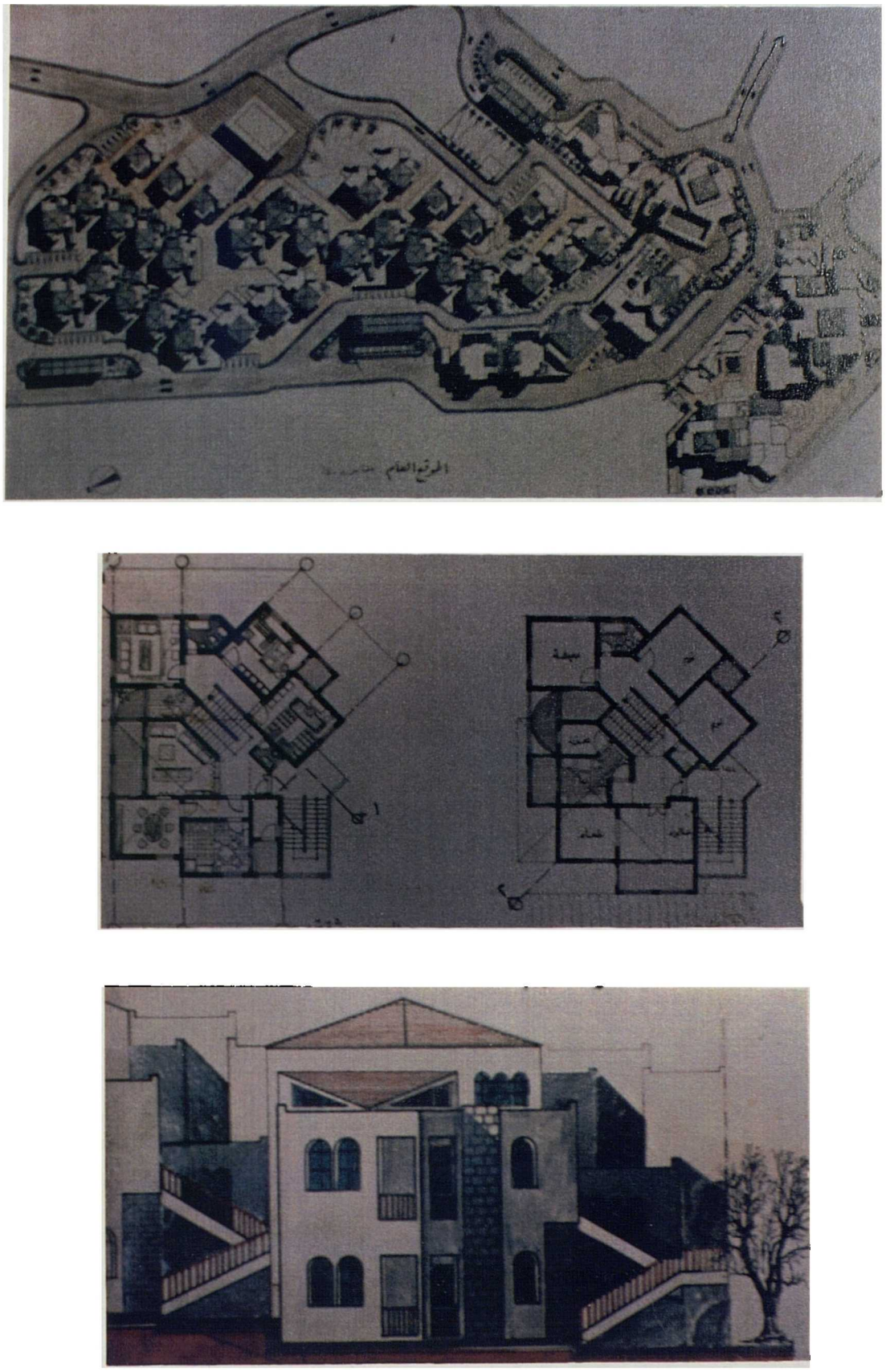


Fig. 7.8: Graduation Project (BA Arch, 1988) for Reconstruction of al-Burjain.
Source: Yassin, Personal Archive.

- Families who are living in ad-Debbieh and are in process of rebuilding their houses in al-Burjain.
- Families who are living in al-Burjain after finishing most of the reconstruction work on their original damaged houses.

No exact figures are available of the different categories. However, 52 families was suggested of the two last groups (families who have finished or are in the process of rebuilding). Different interrelated factors play a major role in a family's decision to start rebuilding. These factors could be summarized in the following:

- family's expectation regarding assistance;
- availability of resources (saving, salable land, etc.);
- number of working members in the family;
- degree of damage and destruction; and
- convenience of place of refuge and political conditions.

Major issues concerning the village reconstruction have been identified from discussions with the key figures and analysis of available documents. First, a cadastral survey is important in order to determine land and property boundaries. According to an-Nida'a (8/6/1985), it would cost about 100,000 LL (£1 = LL9 at 1985 price) and would take about one month if equipment and expertises were available. Second, bulldozing of damaged structures would need two months in the case of an organised and well equipped team due to the existence of mines and unexploded ammunition. However, the operation is an expensive one and no estimation could be projected. Third, future planning of the village should allow for "extension to solve the problem of compactness and crowdedness" (an-Nida'a, 8/6/1985: 7). It should also address the problem of infrastructure (water, electricity, roads) and should provide adequate social facilities (medical care centre, mosque, school, post office). Fourth and most important, reconstruction should be an opportunity for upgrading and developing the agriculture sector; it should be a means for providing job opportunities especially for the younger generation.

7.2.6 SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY FIGURES

Information collected during the discussion with key figures, the first stage of the fieldwork, is presented in Table 7.6. The table gives an overview of the different characteristics - historical, social, economic, physical, etc.- by summarizing the main points discussed and major findings derived in each.

7.3 IN-DEPTH FAMILY CASE HISTORIES

The second part of this chapter tells the "stories" of three families at different stages of reconstruction. It gives detailed insights of individual households emphasizing issues related to reconstruction. Their backgrounds, housing processes, displacement patterns, needs, perceptions and priorities are presented using, wherever possible, the phraseology and expressions of the respondents themselves.

7.3.1 FAMILY No. 1: A Displaced Family Living in ad-Debbieh Who Have Not Started Rebuilding in the Original Village.

The family is a nuclear type of six persons with two working members; the father and the oldest daughter. The oldest son is married and lives in a separate dwelling above his parents' house (Fig. 7.9). The interview was conducted with the mother, the oldest daughter and the second son in the presence of the president of the village committee. The family was very reluctant to give an exact figure regarding its income which is a combination from different sources; cash income includes the father's and daughter's wages and income in-kind represents the agricultural products (olives, figs, grapes, vegetables, etc.). Also obstacles were faced in obtaining a detailed pattern of expenditure. However, the mother listed the priorities in spending the family's income as follows: "food, medical care, education, clothing, and the necessities of life; we are just managing with the expensive prices. We are sustaining the basics which enable us to survive".

ASPECTS	ISSUES DISCUSSED	MAJOR POINTS
Historical Development	. distant past . early history . feudal period . transitory period (after independence) . 1956 earthquake	. Change in village culture: material and non-material. . Duality of cultural pattern: traditional versus modern. . Change in the physical structure of village: square dwellings, materials, etc. which led to change in village character and image. . Tendency of praising traditional ways of life described as: simple & natural, good & beautiful, blessed & secured, humane & moral.
war and displacements	. 1975-1982 relative peace . 1982-1985 armed conflict . 1983 displacement of the community . 1985 Muslim families returned to the area	. Destruction of major part of the village and suffering of the community. . Segregation of the two sects: Sunni & Maronite. . Uprootedness and displacement according to religious affiliation. . Muslim families, after 1985, occupied dwelling in ad-Debbieh an evicted Christian village. . Before the war, major issues come out concerning village life: - example of symbiosis between sects - praising village life against the materialism of urban one - village and dwelling have a symbolic meaning related to security, identity, memories, existence, comfort, etc. - unproductive agriculture sector - lack of enough water supply, especially in summer - problems related to access, roads and compact structure of the village.
Social Environment	. religious groups . family and its importance . social relations . education	. Two social groups along religious affiliation. . Family determines social status, influence & prestige. . Family represents an organic solidarity. . Norms, values and tradition regulate relations between families. . Education becomes another factor in determining social status.
Physical Environment	. location . topography . spatial organization	. Village near urban centres; Beirut & Sidon and strategic location; centre of three roads. . Two quarters of social control : hilly to east (majority Christian) flat to west (majority Muslim). . Climate: temperate Mediterranean. . Wells for collecting rainwater are commonly used.
Economic Situation	. change and its effect . occupational structure . agriculture sector and its problems . cultivated crops	. Changes and unproductive agriculture sector pushed people to prefer salaried jobs (security of income). . Agriculture is a secondary source of income. . Carob, grape and olive are of economic interest.
Survival & Reconstruction	. settlement of Muslim families in Christian evicted village . activities concerning infrastructure. repairs, relief items, school rehabilitation mosque rebuilding village reconstruction. . household categories	. Lack of co-ordination and comprehensiveness. . Rising people's expectation and state of confusion. . Unrealistic projects and criticism of concentration on urban reconstruction. . Important issues in future reconstruction are: - need for cadastral survey - problem of mines - extension of village - infrastructures and public facilities - the compact structure of the village - supporting agriculture sector - providing job opportunities.

Table 7.6: Summary of Main Issues and Findings Emerging form Discussions with Key Figures.

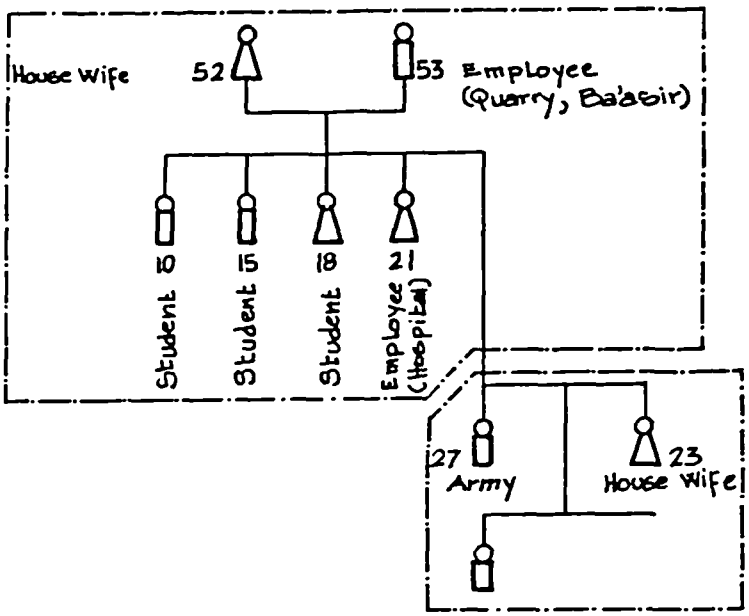


Fig. 7.9: Family No. 1; Household Composition.

The members of the family had lived in al-Burjain all their life; in the same house which was extended over time with the growth of the family. The parents married 27 years ago and all the children were born and raised in the same house. The mother told the story: "the house was built on a plot of land inherited by my husband. Firstly, he built, with the help of my father-in-law, two rooms one used for living and the other was divided into a kitchen and a toilet. Additionally, a garden for growing vegetables and fruits, and a terrace for a variety of activities (washing, cooking, receiving guests, etc.) were also provided. Another floor was added with the growing size of the family. This floor was built from the family's savings. My husband helped during the building process by carrying materials, supervision and in the unskilled works. We had many problems especially in carrying building materials because the plot is far from the main road".

One point which ought to be mentioned is that the family owns different plots of land in different parts of the village. These were inherited either by the mother or the father on different occasions. This separation of plots makes them less manageable and productive for agricultural activities. In terms of infrastructure, the mother continued: "the house was equipped with electricity; sanitation was of the pit latrine type; and refuse was dealt with on site by burning or by throwing it in the bushes, but water was, and still is, the major problem especially during the summer".

Concerning the patterns of displacement, the daughter, with interference from her brother for correction or additional detail, described: "first, we fled to our father's work place to live; ... all of us in one room. We left behind all our clothes and furniture. Due to the unbearable living conditions, we moved, after one week, to Barja to stay a few weeks with some relatives. Then we left to Daraya where we lived in the same house with our father's cousin. From Daraya, we left to Sh-him to be nearer to our house and land in the original village. In Sh-him, we stayed in a room in one of the public schools which was occupied by displaced people form al-Burjain. Problems in sharing facilities, difficult living conditions and continuous shelling in the area obliged us to move to a more secure area;

this time to Ketermaya. There, we rented a house of two rooms and utilities (kitchen and toilet). After 25 April 1985, we were able to go back to our village, but only to find our house razed to the ground. So, we moved to ad-Debbieh and have lived in this house ever since" (Fig. 7.10).

The present dwelling consists of two rooms, a kitchen, a toilet, a terrace, and a terraced kitchen-garden for growing vegetable (Fig. 7.11). A well for collecting rainwater is also available near the house. Infrastructure facilities are similar to those previously mentioned and the availability of water is still the crucial problem. Comparing between life in al-Burjain and ad-Debbieh, the family strongly indicated that the original village "mean everything in life; it is security, settlement and comfort. It is the place of our ancestors and our memories of infancy. We invested all our savings in the house and we were going to improve it and maintain it once we had enough money. We are attached to our land and our village because it is our ideal place".

Despite having a roof to protect it in ad-Debbieh, the family feels insecure and uncomfortable. "This house is not ours; we have no incentives to improve or repair it [the house suffers from water penetration, cracks and missing window panes]. We hardly satisfy our needs for living which is very expensive nowadays. If we have money we will invest it to rebuild our own house".

In this sense the symbolic meaning of the village/home exceeds its physical meaning. Therefore, the family described its original house as "perfect and without faults in terms of construction, style and design". But, experiences have shown that an incremental house built by a builder from the village is expected to have some problems in terms of space arrangements. Regarding building materials, the original house was built from "modern materials" (reinforced concrete for the roof and columns, concrete blocks for the walls). The family did not use the traditional building materials (limestone for the walls and red clay tiles for the pitched roof) because of the cost involved and the non-availability of

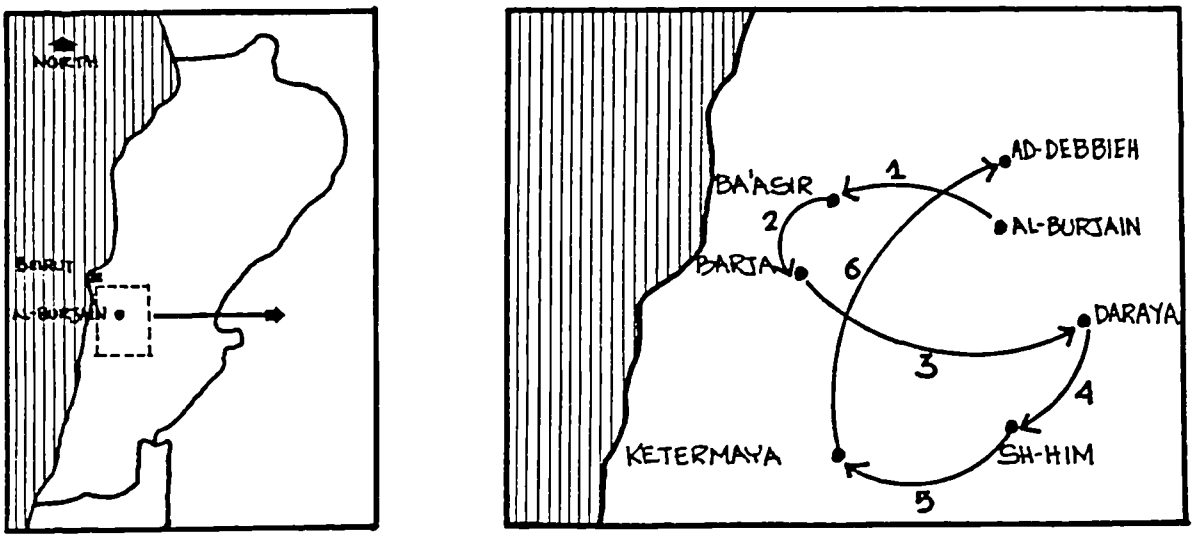


Fig. 7.10: Family No. 1; Displacement Pattern.

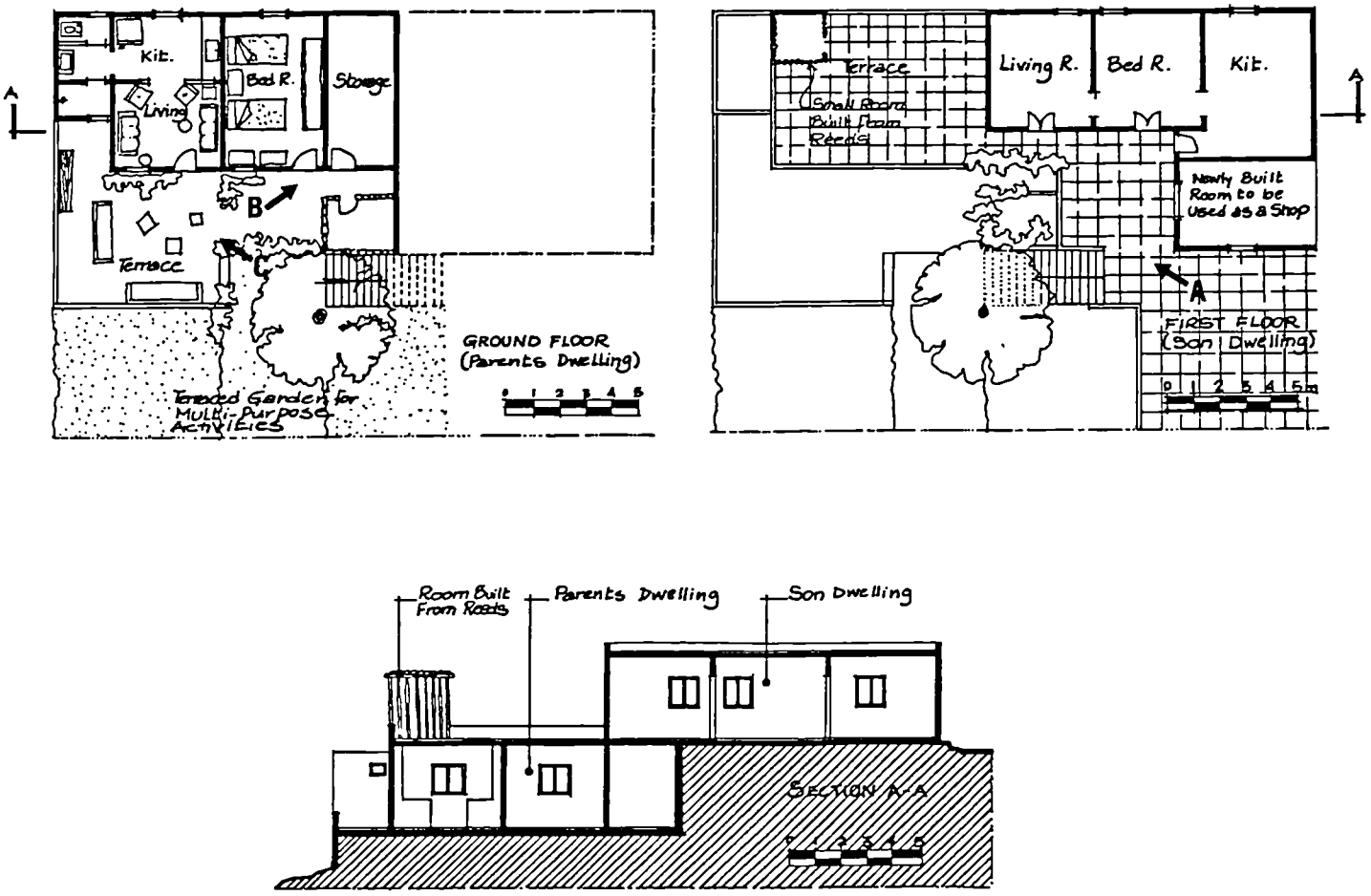


Fig. 7.11: Family No. 1; Dwelling Occupied by the Family in ad-Debbieh.
(for details see Fig. 7.12)

A

B

C

Fig. 7.12: Views of Dwelling Occupied by Family No. 1.

materials and skills. This point was supported by a builder from the village who joined the discussion circle at the terrace. He explained that while traditional materials are better in terms of durability, aesthetic character and for climatic conditions, the technique is expensive and faces many problems: transportation of materials, skills and the availability of materials. It is a luxury which is affordable only to the rich [8]. The family seemed positive about what had been said. At this point the president provides more explanation: "in the past, building a house was a social occasion and all the people of the village contributed; everybody had to do something. Even old people used to come and sit to supervise the process. At the end, a meal was provided to the helpers by the family celebrating the construction of its home. These customs have disappeared with the change in the rural situation and its influenced by urban life styles".

The married son who joined the circle at the terrace had another view concerning the use of traditional materials. He argued that "traditional buildings are as good as monuments. The house form is not important; the house form and materials should be compatible with modern life. You cannot ask me to live in the same way as my grandparents lived; nowadays there are televisions, washing machines, fridges and other modern equipment".

This point brought up the issue of reconstruction for discussion. There was common agreement that all people should be able to return to the village except the people responsible for the crisis. "All our lives, we lived together [Muslim and Christian] and we are willing to live together again". Asking about how the village/home should be, the mother wanted them as they were. The married son talked about the opportunity for providing "a typical village with touristic facilities, and planning and design should be compatible with modern life". However, he recognised that reconstruction is more than physical as the social crisis is deeper and more important. "15% to 20% of the young people emigrated either to the city or outside the country. Most of agricultural production for marketing has stopped (grapes, olives, figs, wheat, etc.) and its supply becomes limited only to family consumption".

Contradiction seemed clear between the divergent views; the mother wanted the village/house as they were, the son preferred reconstruction to be modern while the builder and the president favoured traditional forms and materials, but had practical reservations. The discussion continued by shifting to the role of the government in the reconstruction process. At the beginning, the participants wanted the government to provide everything. However, the author explained to them about the difficulties of such an approach because the government cannot build every damaged village and city. Therefore, priorities began to emerge which were ordered into two groups. First came issues of communal concern which would "benefit everybody and improve life in the village". These are: (1) re-planning the village to solve the problems of roads and access, (2) providing infrastructure especially water supply, and (3) encouraging the agriculture sector (co-operatives, irrigation projects, loans, appropriate system of market protection). Second emerged concerns at household level; they asked for financial and technical assistance to help them rebuild their houses. The family acknowledged a prominent role for the Village Committee in formulating a reconstruction approach with the government. At this stage, the author felt that the eldest son tried to exaggerate the Committee's role because of the presence of the President. However, the discussion ended with the eldest son asking the author a question which nobody can answer: "how long will al-Burjain stay like this?"

7.3.2 FAMILY No. 2: A Displaced Family Living in ad-Debbieh Who Have Started Rebuilding in the Original Village

The father (Mr Y.) was born in al-Burjain 60 years ago. He is the head of a six-person family (Fig. 7.13). The discussion was carried out with the father at the original house in al-Burjain while he was doing some construction work. He lost his original job, in a textile factory, due to its location near the "Green Line" which divides Beirut into two parts. Now he works on the land and its revenue is used for living expenses with the support of the oldest son. The family moved 3 times since the destruction of the village (Fig. 7.14). The father told the story of displacements: "we escaped from al-Burjain to the South of

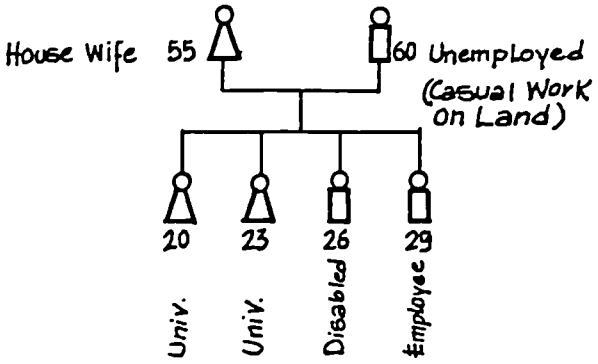


Fig. 7.13: Family No. 2; Household Composition.

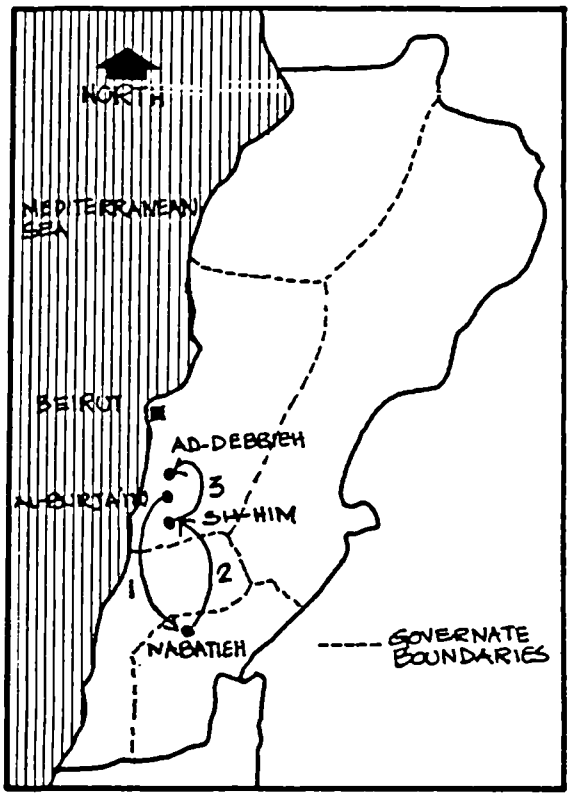


Fig. 7.14: Family No. 2; Displacement Pattern.

Lebanon where we were offered a house of one room, a toilet and a kitchen. After one year, we decided to move to Sh-him as it is nearer to our original village and land. In Sh-him, the family was offered a house of two rooms, a kitchen and a toilet. On 28 April 1985, we went back to al-Burjain to find our house razed to the ground. We lost the savings of a life-time and now we need to start again. We moved to ad-Debbeih to shelter ourselves in a house of two rooms with utilities and an outside area.

"I started rebuilding one year and two months ago. We (he and his brother) sold a plot of land (34,000 m^2) to support the reconstruction activities. We wait hoping that the officials will do something but nobody cares and prices are increasing". In the rebuilding process, he reused some of the original steel salvaged from the destroyed roof and columns in order to minimize the cost. Mr Y. also used tree trunks for scaffolding the roof [9]. The reconstructed house consists of two floors; a ground floor of a living room, a bedroom, a kitchen and toilet, and a floor below street level is to be used as winter accommodation and for storage. The building is still without finishes; "we limited rebuilding according to the available resources. In future, I am going to add another floor on the roof [vertical extension]". A builder from the village has done the essential work and the father is building the partitions, carrying materials and supervising the works. Infrastructure is similar to the previous cases and water supply and roads have been identified as major problems. An essential point is that the grapevines, fruit trees (lemons, oranges and pomegranates) and vegetables are cultivated on the unoccupied forecourt. The father explained that by the time he occupies the house, the fruit trees will be mature (Fig. 7.15).

"Before, life in the village was not excellent but we were secure and relaxed. We invested all our saving in the house to build something for our children. Before, Christian and Muslim lived together but the war separated them. Good and bad people are found in both communities and we are willing to live as before with the good people. Of course, I will not accept the one who destroyed my house to return to the village. The village is for all of us. My home was my security for old age, it is the home of memories and the village is

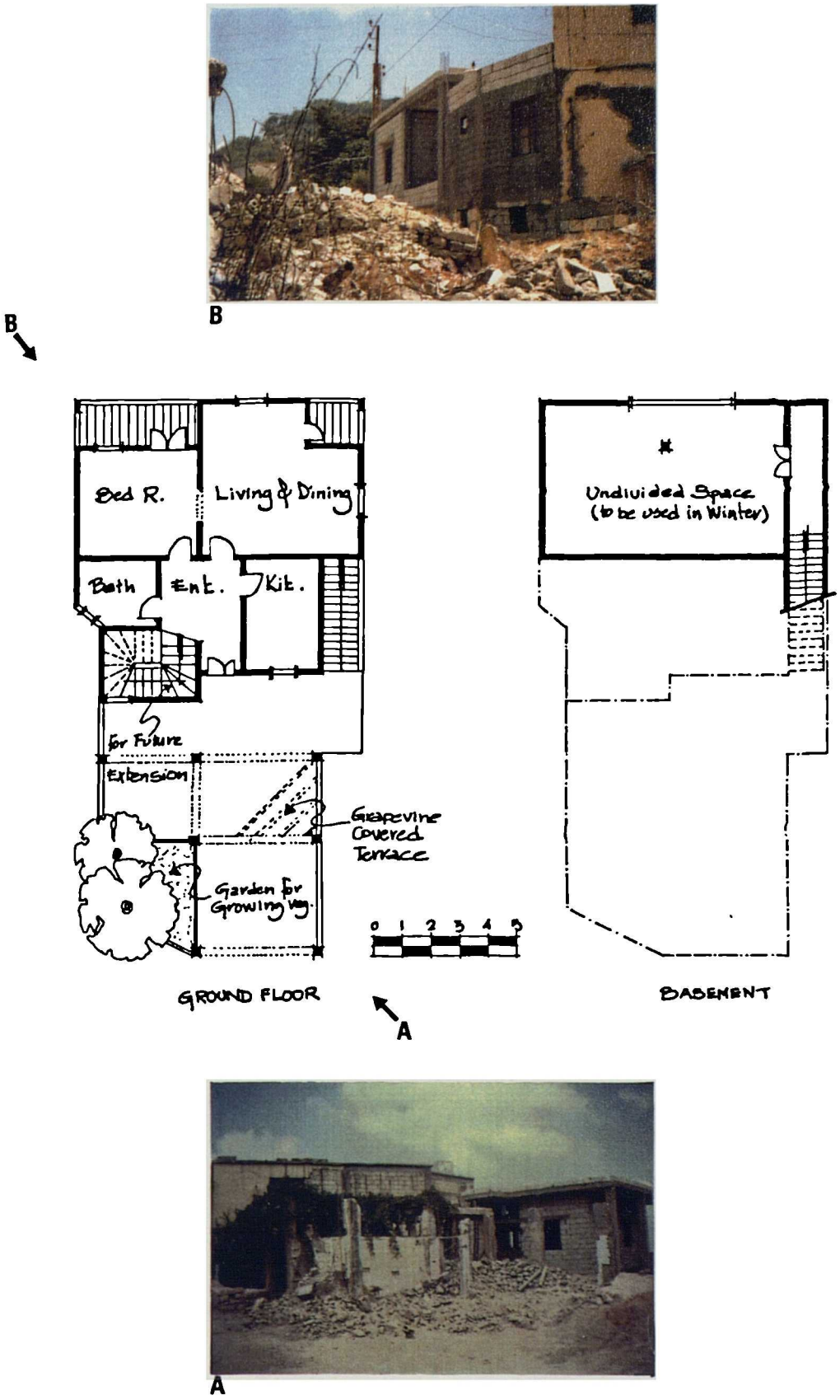


Fig. 7.15: Family No. 2; Plan and Views of Reconstructed Dwelling in al-Burjain.

the place of my ancestors and grandparents. No better place than al-Burjain; it is the whole world for me. What is better than to have your house and land in your village? We heard promises, promises for rebuilding the village, but nothing was achieved and prices [10] were going up with inflation. Many people came here, like you, asking questions and taking photos, but no results".

It seems that Mr Y. is doing all he can to rebuild his house to the best of his ability and knowledge. On the issue of government involvement, Mr Y. believes that the government should address the communal facilities: roads and access to houses, water and other infrastructure, social facilities (mosque, school, medical care centre, post office, etc.). At household level the involvement could be in the form of providing loans to enable families to go back and rebuild their houses. "I am building my house from my pocket; in the future if the government is going to give money, it should compensate me for what I have already spent. Assistance and support should be equally distributed and should not benefit only the large, powerful families. The government should show support and good will, then the people would be willing to do their best. In al-Burjain a good number of educated young people is available [architects, engineers, doctors, teachers, etc.]. They should be involved in the reconstruction process; they are from the village and they know the situation; it is also an opportunity to provide them with jobs. I like my village to have Lebanese village characteristics and houses to be separated. The closeness of houses was one of the problems; before houses in al-Burjain were so close to each other".

Mr Y. recognised that social reconstruction and cooperation between the people of al-Burjain is the first step to physical reconstruction. "Things could be more organised and access to houses could be solved by comprehensive re-planning. Who is going to remove the rubble? Who is going to deal with public facilities and infrastructure? Instead some families are rebuilding their houses according to their knowledge and resources but without any planning guidelines".

7.3.3 FAMILY No. 3: The Family Living in the Original Dwelling who are in the Process of Rebuilding

The family consists of seven persons (Fig. 7.16). The father, the vice-president of the village committee, works in the Institute of Agricultural Research (al-Bekaa). The family income is supplemented by some agricultural and activity. As may be expected, a precise estimate of family income was hard to determine. However, priorities for expenditure are: "food, medical care, education, clothing, house repair and improvement, and emergency events".

At the time of the survey, this family had moved three times (Fig. 7.17). Firstly, it fled from al-Burjain to Sh-him to rent a house of three rooms, a kitchen and a toilet for one year and eight months. Due to the escalation of military activities in the area (the Mountain War), the family left to the al-Bekaa area, a more secure area. The family rented a house of two rooms, a kitchen and a toilet. One 28 April 1985, the family returned to the village; as the house was located on the outskirts [Marj al-Burjain], it escaped complete demolition, but it was inflicted with severe damage and destruction (Fig. 7.18).

The original house consists of three rooms, a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, a toilet and an entrance hall (Fig. 7.19). A vast terrace (*jidar*) is located in front of the house; underneath a part of it there is a well for collecting rainwater from the roof. A garden is also available at the side for growing vegetables. A sitting area (*ifriz*) shaded by a carob tree is located at the end of one side of the terrace. The land surrounding the house is used for rearing partly and for growing olive and fruit trees. With respect to the building process, the father described it as follows: "the land was bought a long time ago. In 1979, the foundations and columns were erected by a builder from the village. In 1980, I sold a plot of land in the village to finance the construction of the roof and partitions. The other finishing works were done in stages according to the availability of money". The father performed the supervision and unskilled labour whenever he had free time from work.

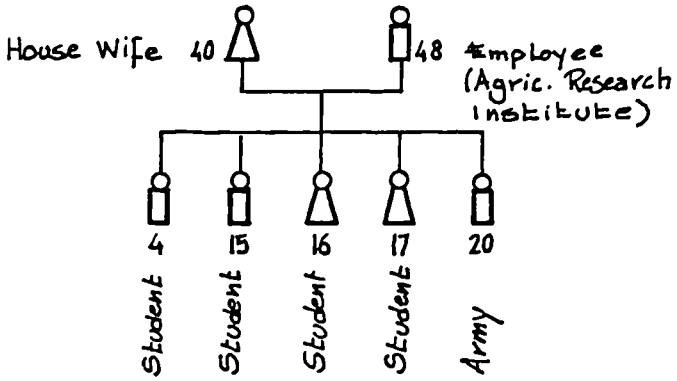


Fig. 7.16: Family No. 3; Household Composition.

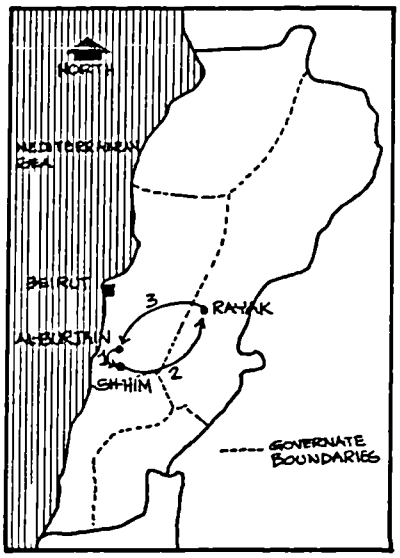
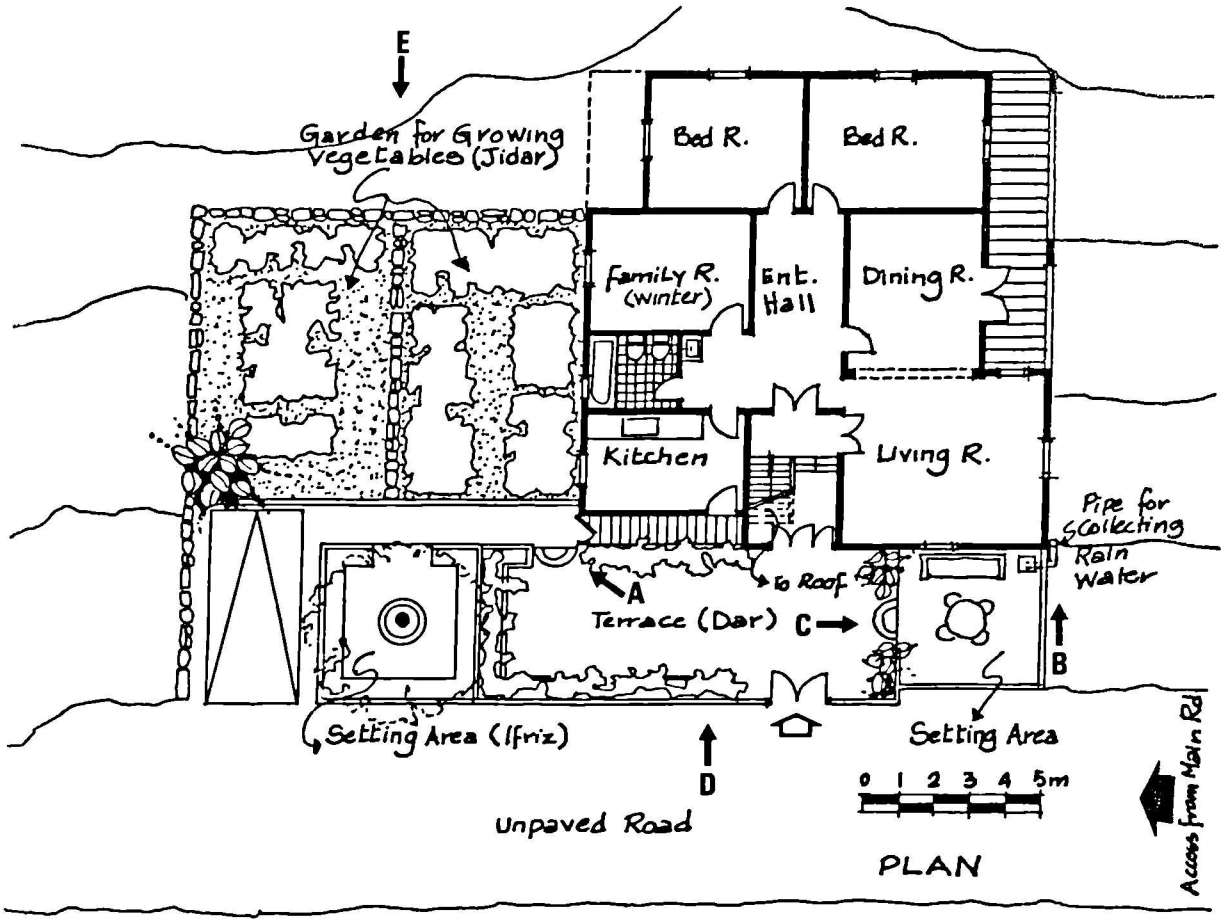


Fig. 7.17: Family No. 3; Displacement Pattern.

Fig. 7.18: Family No. 3: Damage Inflicted on Original House.



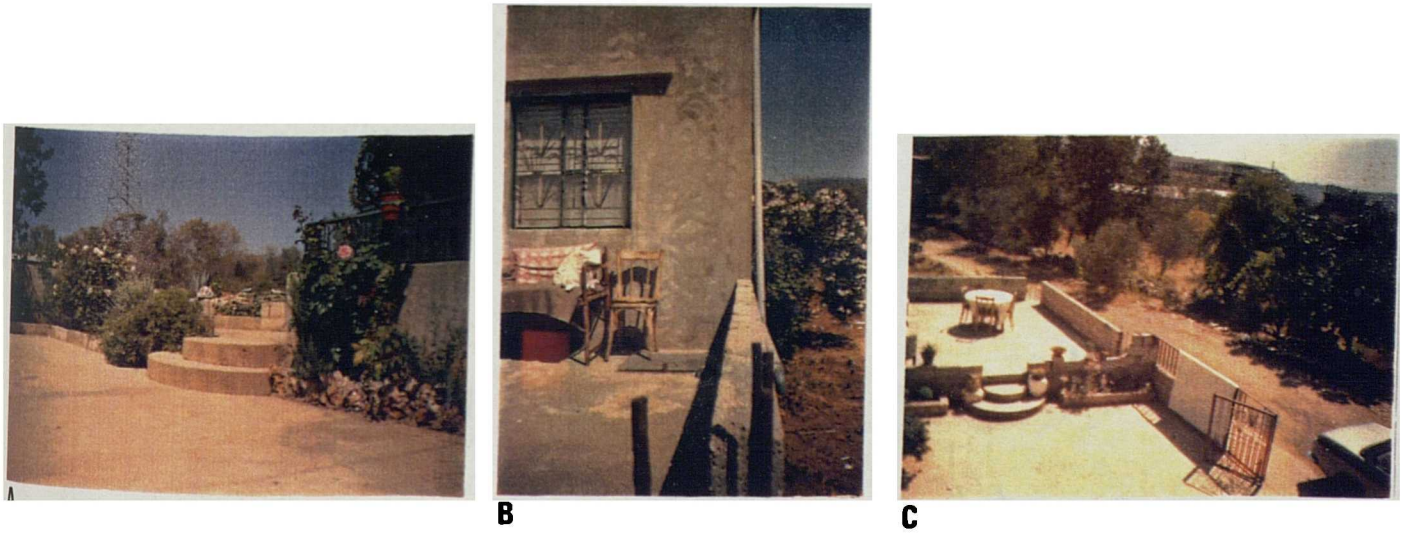


Fig. 7.19: Family No. 3; Plan of Original Dwelling in al-Burjain.
(for details see Fig. 7.20).

D

E

Fig. 7.20: Views of Original Dwelling of Family No. 3.

- large and naturally-lit rooms,
- access to the roof and future vertical extension,
- separate entrances to the living room and kitchen,
- terrace in front of the house including the *ifriz* (sitting area),
- a well for collecting rainwater from the roof.

The house is on one floor, covering 245 m². It was built from modern materials bought from the surrounding areas. "Before displacement, we had a plan for improvements [tiling, painting, stone facing for the facades] and for adding another floor for the children. We had the important thing [the structure] and we were going to improve it when money became available. Instead, we spent our savings on renting houses during displacements and for repairing the damage [in the roof, tiling, paint, glass for windows and doors]", the mother said. She proceeded by describing her family as lucky because their house escaped complete destruction. Regarding the infrastructure, sanitation is in the form of pit latrine, electricity is available though there are intermittent cuts and water is a problem despite the well.

The issue of building materials was discussed. The father acknowledged the appropriateness of traditional materials in terms of climate and providing the real character of a Lebanese village. "But they are very costly and skills to build them are scarce. Our priority is to have a house which we can afford and manage". Living in their own house gives the family a sense of security, but some problems were identified. One toilet is not enough for such a big house and family. Also the partitions of the rooms are not effective in relation to privacy, circulation and space usage.

The village/home means a great deal to the family; security, settlement, memories and roots. The father emphasised having a house in the village as a continuity for the family and providing an identity for the children. Village and home give a sense of belonging to a certain environment and to a certain social group. Therefore, it is rare to find rented houses in the village.

The father recognised that reconstruction should respond to the ambitions of the younger generations in providing job opportunities (agriculture projects) and social facilities. He called for establishing "a Council for Reconstruction for the Mountain Area to provide development programmes which respond to local needs. Priorities in reconstruction should concentrate on infrastructure, especially road improvements and public facilities [mosque, school, post office, medical care centre, social club]. Also, the government should support and help people to rebuild their dwellings [loans, technical assistance]. The reconstructed village should reflect the character and identity of the region. We like our village to be like Deir al-Qamar (lime stones and red-tiled pitch roofs) with adequately separated houses". As a vice-president in the village committee, the father recognized that the people have to contribute during reconstruction in terms of management, labour and supervision. But "we need affirmation from the government. The committee has already done some projects in terms of electricity repairs, providing a communal well and distributing cement offered by a leader from the area. Now all reconstruction activities are carried out by families on an individual level. They are repeating the same mistakes as before by building close to each other and common facilities have not been addressed".

7.3.4 SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE FAMILY CASE HISTORIES

Table 7.7 is a summary of the information collected from the three in-depth family histories. It categorizes the major issues discussed: socio-economic conditions, original and present dwelling conditions, and reconstruction issues. However, this table is a means to determine similarities and differences between these cases. Hence general patterns and important issues can be scrutinized rapidly.

HOUSEHOLD / TYPE OF DATA	1. A DISPLACED FAMILY LIVING IN AD-DEBBIEH WHO HAS NOT STARTED REBUILDING IN THE ORIGINAL VILLAGE	2. A DISPLACED FAMILY LIVING IN AD-DEBBIEH WHO HAS STARTED REBUILDING IN THE ORIGINAL VILLAGE	3. A FAMILY LIVING IN THE ORIGINAL DWELLING AND IN THE PROCESS OF REBUILDING
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS	. Nuclear (6 persons). . Income: father and daughter (salaried jobs) + agriculture (consumption). . Expenditure priorities: food, medical care, education, clothes, necessity of life. . Family owns separate plots in the village which make then less manageable for agriculture productions.	. Nuclear (6 persons). . Income: father (casual work), son (salaried job) + agriculture (consumption). . Expenditure priorities: not defined.	. Nuclear (7 persons). . Income: father and son (salaried jobs) + agriculture (consumption). . Expenditure priorities: food, medical care, education, housing repairs, emergency events.
ORIGINAL DWELLING	. Destroyed completely (village centre). . Built incrementally from family savings. . Tenure: dwelling and land are owned properties. . Father contributed in building process (unskilled labour). . Special features: garden for growing vegetables and terrace for multi-purpose activities. . Infrastructure: rubbish (on site) electricity, piped water, pit latrine. . Family had plans for extension and improvement. . Building materials: modern (not traditional) materials because of cost, availability and skills. . Village and dwelling represent: everything in life, security, settled down, memories. . Dwelling perceived with no faults . Problems: land far from main road, lack of adequate water supply.	. Damaged completely & family started rebuilding. . Built incrementally from family savings. . Tenure: dwelling and land are owned properties. . Father contributing in building process (unskilled labour). . Special features: garden for growing vegetables and terrace for multi-purpose activities. . Infrastructure: rubbish (on site) electricity, piped water, pit latrine. . Family has plans for extension and improvement. . Building materials: modern (not tradition) materials because of cost, availability and skills. . Reuse some salvaged materials steel, bricks, doors. . Village and dwelling represent: security, memories, place of ancestors. . Problems: lack of finance, inadequate water supply.	. Damaged partially as located on outskirts of the village. . Built incrementally from family savings. . Tenure: dwelling and land are owned properties. . Father contributed in building process (unskilled labour). . Special features: garden for growing vegetables and terrace for multi-purpose activities. . Infrastructure: rubbish (on site) electricity, piped water, pit latrine. . Family had plans for extension and improvement. . Building materials: modern (not traditional) materials because of cost, availability and skills. . Village and dwelling represent: continuity, identity, security, memories, roots. . Problems: in design (one toilet & partitions) lack of adequate water supply.
DISPLACEMENTS AND PRESENT DWELLING SITUATION	. 6 times. . Housing provision through social networks and family's own resources. . Now living in ad-Debbieh by occupying a house. . Problems: insecurity, discomfort, no incentive for improvements.	. 3 times. . Housing provision through family's own resources. . Now living in al-Burjain in original house. . Issues: security and incentive for improvements.	. 3 times. . Housing provision through social network. . Now living in ad-Debbieh & rebuilding orig. house. . Problems: high prices of building materials.
RECONSTRUCTION	. Possibility of future cooperation between the two sects of the village. . Conflict between: traditional & modern; old and young, different aspirations . Priorities: Communal: Re-planning village. Infrastructure & public facilities. Support of agriculture. Household: Financial & technical assistance. Issues: Exaggerated role of village committee. Discussion of traditional building process.	. Possibility of future cooperation between the two sects of the village. . Disappointment from lack of support. . Priorities: Communal: Roads and access, infrastructure especially water & public facilities Household: Support to rebuild houses. . Issues: Involvement of educated people in reconstruction. Social reconstruction.	. Acknowledgment of appropriateness of traditional materials (especially cost). . Reconstruction. should respond to young generations aspiration. . Priorities: Communal: Infrastructure, road network, public facilities. household: Loans & technical assistance. . Issues: Affirmation and good will; call to establish "Council for Mountain Reconstruction".

Table 7.7: Summary of Main Issues and Findings Emerging from Family Case Histories.

7.4 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the analysis of the first two stages of the fieldwork. First, discussions with key figures provided an overview about the village environment including historical, social, economic, and physical aspects and their inter-relationships. It also provided a review of the different activities related to survival and reconstruction and it detailed the effects of these activities either in rising people's expectations or in hindering their recovery process.

Second, family case histories presented the stories of three households who are passing through different phases of reconstruction. These provided a detailed account of the socio-economic conditions of the household, their housing conditions and processes before displacement, their coping mechanisms after the destruction of the village, and their present housing situations. Problems, issues, as well as their perceptions and expectations of reconstruction were identified.

The information collected in each stage has been synthesized in a synoptical table in which major aspects, issues and points are qualitatively articulated. To test the significance of these issues and points, a survey employing semi-structured interviews was used in the third stage of inquiry which is the subject of the following chapter.

NOTES

NB: for full details about the studies mentioned here, see references.

[1] **Spatial Relations:** For more details about spatial relations in Middle Eastern villages, see Antoun (1972) specially pp: 124-129.

[2] **Al-Burjain Village:** For general information about the village refer to Merhej (1971), Yassin (1988) and Hajjar (1987).

[3] **Change in Building Techniques and Materials:** These changes could also be observed in a neighbouring village, Dalhoun. After the 1956 earthquake, the damaged traditional dwellings (pitch roof and lime stone) were abandoned; people moved to a nearby site and built modern buildings (concrete blocks and flat roof of reinforced concrete).

[4] **PSP Survey:** After the "Mountain War", the Progressive Socialist Party conducted a survey in al-Burjain. The author, by contacting the appropriate key figure, was able to get copies of the completed questionnaires (for details see Appendix 2.).
Yassin, M.: is an architect from al-Burjain; information obtained from Yassin was either from his article (1988) or from his personal archive.
Both sources did not mention the framework, procedure, and methodology used in collecting the data. Sample size is varied in both cases; the first is 132 buildings and the second is 176 buildings.

[5] **The conflict:** For detailed reports about the destruction of the village see the following;
- After displacement: an-Nida'a 12/4/1984.
- After returning to the village: an-Nida'a 8/6/1985 & as-Safir 4/5/1985.

[6] **"Ruins and Fragments Used to Be Named al-Burjain":** This was the title of an article published in an-Nida'a 8/6/1985 (Arabic newspaper).

[7] **Olives:** in addition to its economic importance, the olive tree is also of a symbolic importance; as olive and cedar trees have closely associated with Lebanon in history and literature (Murr, 1987: 65).

[8] **Traditional Materials:** For more details refer to as-Safir 25/4/1988.

[9] **Deforestation:** For more details refer to al-Hayat. 20/2/1990.

[10] **Prices of Materials:** During the interview the father was able to list the prices of building materials in $ US such as:
- 1 tonne of steel costs $ 350
- 1 tonne of cement costs $ 80
- 100 concrete blocks 15 cm thick cost $23

Due to the fluctuation of LL, most goods and products are priced and sold in US currency. The prices listed here show a high increase from 1988 prices.

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CHAPTER EIGHT:

ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

CHAPTER 8: ANALYSIS OF THE SURVEY: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the analysis of the third stage of the fieldwork - the survey of 40 households. It examines the community, focusing on socio-economic aspects, housing conditions both prior to and after displacement, and people's opinions and expectations regarding future reconstruction of their village. The purpose of this stage is three-fold: first is to deepen understanding of local conditions; second is to determine the commonality of patterns and major issues identified during the first two stages of the fieldwork (discussions with key figures and in-depth family case histories); and third is to identify needs, priorities, opportunities and constraints which would influence future reconstruction.

8.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

This part of the analysis focuses on the household as a social unit in terms of displacement, size, composition, age and literacy, and as an economic unit in terms of income, expenditure, occupation and sources of income. Understanding socio-economic conditions of the victims cannot be over-emphasized for a comprehensive reconstruction, as many aspects of the dwelling are related to or affected by socio-economic factors.

8.2.1 DISPLACEMENT PATTERN

The sample unveils some of the broad features of the forced movement resulting from the dominant upheaval in Lebanon. The sample suggests that between 1983-1985, the people experienced high residential mobility which was not common before the present conflict. 80% of the sample had moved between two and four times (Fig. 8.1). The other 20% had

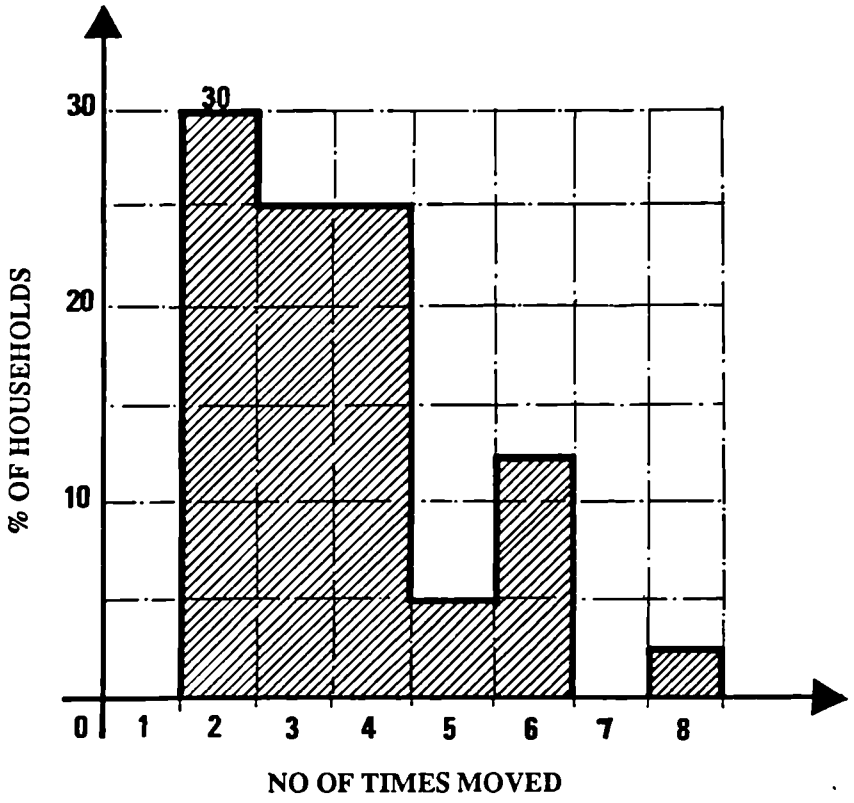


Fig. 8.1: Number of Times Moved Because of the War.

experienced even higher residential mobility to the magnitude of five to eight times. A variety of interrelated factors account for the high rate of movement. These factors, as identified by the sample, are categorized and summarized as follows:

- **Shelter:** this is influenced by two main factors; availability and suitability of the shelter. In terms of availability, this is achieved through different channels either in a relative's or else in a friend's house (46 times) or by occupying a vacant building (39 times) or by renting a dwelling (43 times) (Table 8.1). Suitability on the other hand is related to the size, location and condition of the dwelling.

- **War development:** the spread of fighting and the deteriorating political atmosphere among the different rival groups have had a profound influence in forcing people to keep moving from one area to another. Thus, the pattern of displacement is directly influenced by military actions.

- **Psychological:** households have dealt differently with the spread of fighting; some have moved with the first sign of potential danger while others have waited until danger becomes more real. This issue is influenced by each family's ability to cope with danger.

The pattern of displacements was influenced by the events and stages of military actions in the Mountain Area specifically and in Lebanon generally. Between 1983 and 1985, the forty surveyed households moved, in total, 141 times [1] (Table 8.1). This corresponds to an average of 3.5 times moved per household. Table 8.1 also shows that during the transitory period - since they were displaced till they settled down in ad-Debbieh - in which the households moved 101 times, many sought refuge in the surrounding areas (63 times) and more specifically in Sh-him (48 times). These places were favoured by households for reasons of proximity to the original village (psychological factor) and in order to maintain their livelihood (economic factor). Many respondents reported that

	AREAS..	NO. OF TIMES MOVED	TYPES OF HOUSING PROVISION				
			Rent	With Relatives or Friends (A)	Occupying Vacant Blds. (B)	Other	
SURROUNDING AREAS	A'anout	1	1	—	--	--	DISPLACEMENT (1983 - 1985)
	ad-Debbieh	1	--	—	1	--	
	Ba'asir	2	--	--	2	--	
	Barja	2	—	2	--	--	
	Daraya	7	4	3	--	--	
	Keterma/a	2	2	--	--	--	
	Sh-him	48	24	17	3	4 — Combination (A)+(B)	
OTHER PARTS OF LEBANON	Bekaa	12	6	6	—	—	
	West Beirut	14	5	9	—	—	
	South Lebanon	12	1	9	2	-	
	Total	101	43	46	8	4	
PRESENT SITUATION	ad-Debbieh	31	—	--	31	--	SITUATION IN 1991
	al-Burjain	9	--	—	--	9 — Living in Original Dwellings	
	TOTAL	141	43	46	39	11	

Table 8.1: Dispalcements: Number of Times Moved, Areas of Refuge and Types of Housing provision.
For locations of areas mentioned see Appendix 8.1.

fighting, they had access to the agricultural land on the outskirts of the original village. Typically within the households interviewed, these forced movements have created many difficulties and constraints of which the following are paramount:

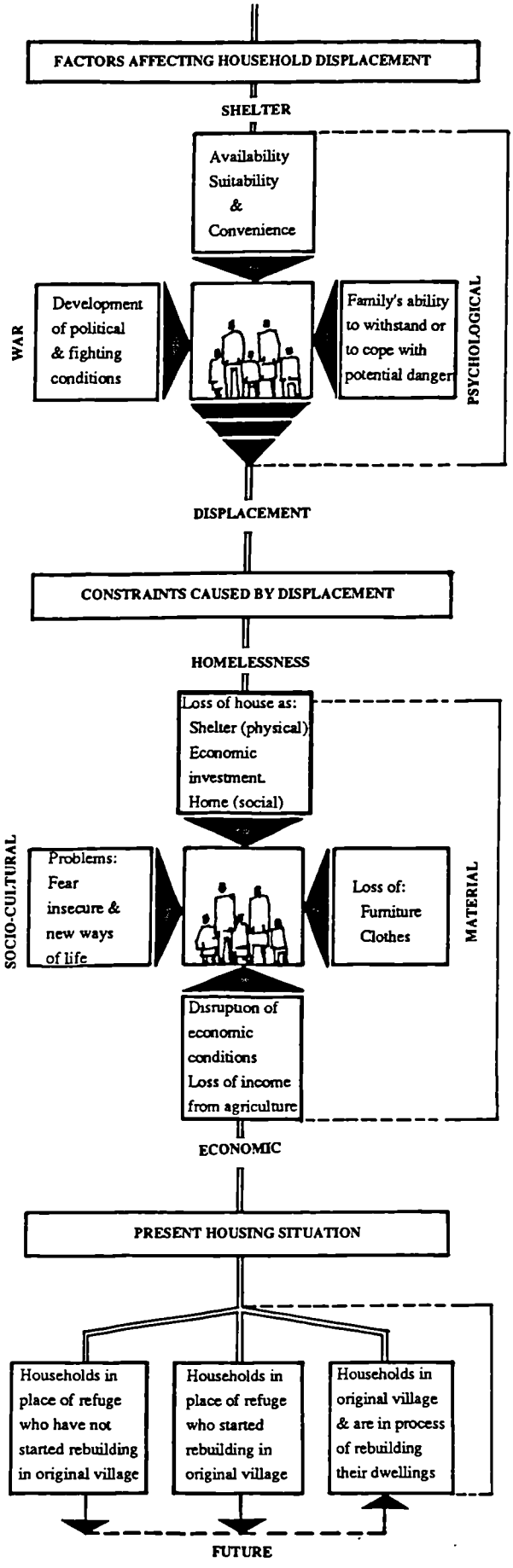
- **Homelessness:** this is related not only to the loss of the original house as a physical structure (shelter) but also as a life savings (economic investment) and as a place symbolizing "security, roots, memories, identity, etc." (psychological association).

- **Material loss:** all 40 households lost their furniture and clothing when they fled the original village: "we escaped from the village only with the clothes which we had on", is a typical answer [2].

- **Economic loss:** the economic bases of the community have been disrupted and the majority of households have also lost a substantial source of income generated from agricultural activities.

- **Socio-cultural disruption:** displacements have disrupted the prevailing socio-cultural conditions and caused an atmosphere governed by fear, uncertainty, insecurity and sectarian considerations. The forced movements have also exposed people to different social environments and ways of life.

On the basis of previously discussed results, two conclusions could be advanced. The first is households' high degree of self-reliance, despite the variety of problems associated with displacement, by adopting different coping mechanisms (savings, social networks and existing building stocks) for housing provision. The second is the distinct preference of households to stay near their original village, an indication of their attachment to the village. This attachment is the outcome of interwoven factors: social, economic, cultural and psychological. A summary of the varied data collected and the issues highlighted from the analysis is presented diagrammatically in (Fig. 8.2).



- High residential mobility of an average of 3.5 times/household in the course of 3 years.
- Variety of housing provisions:
  - In relatives' or friends' houses.
  - Using savings to rent a house.
  - Occupying vacant buildings.
- Preference to be near the original village (attachment).

- High degree of self-reliance in coping with the varied problems created by displacement (social coping mechanisms).

- Three groups of households representing different stages of reconstruction.

Fig. 8.2: Displacement: Factors and Constraints.

8.2.3 HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND COMPOSITION

For the purpose of this study, the following definition is adopted for the term household: a group of people living together in the same dwelling and sharing their meals during most of the year. In the case when many households live on the same plot and have their meals separately, they are considered separate households.

The surveyed sample accounts for 334 persons in 40 households. This corresponds to an average of 8.35 persons/household [3]. The sample shows a wide variety of household sizes with a majority ranging from 5 to 12 persons (77.5%). Within this majority a sub range of 6 to 9 persons/household is dominant representing 55% of the sample (Fig. 8.3). The large household size has negative implications such as overcrowding and lack of privacy.

A significant proportion of the households interviewed (67.5%) are nuclear families consisting of parents and children only. This supports Murr's finding (1987, 109-116) that nuclear families now dominate in many Lebanese villages as a result of the modernization process (refer to Chapter 5). The rest of the households (32.5%) consist of extended kin or include married son(s) or daughter(s) (Table 8.2). In the case of extended kin such as elderly parents or the unmarried sister or brother of one of the spouses, it is the responsibility of one of the sons or daughters, usually the oldest, to care for them (see Appendix 8.2). In the case of newly married couples, they come to live with one set of parents because the war prevents them from establishing separate nuclear families and building a house in the original village. This indicates the survival of some traditional customs of which the extended family (as a social unit) could play an important role of support and shelter provision in times of crises.

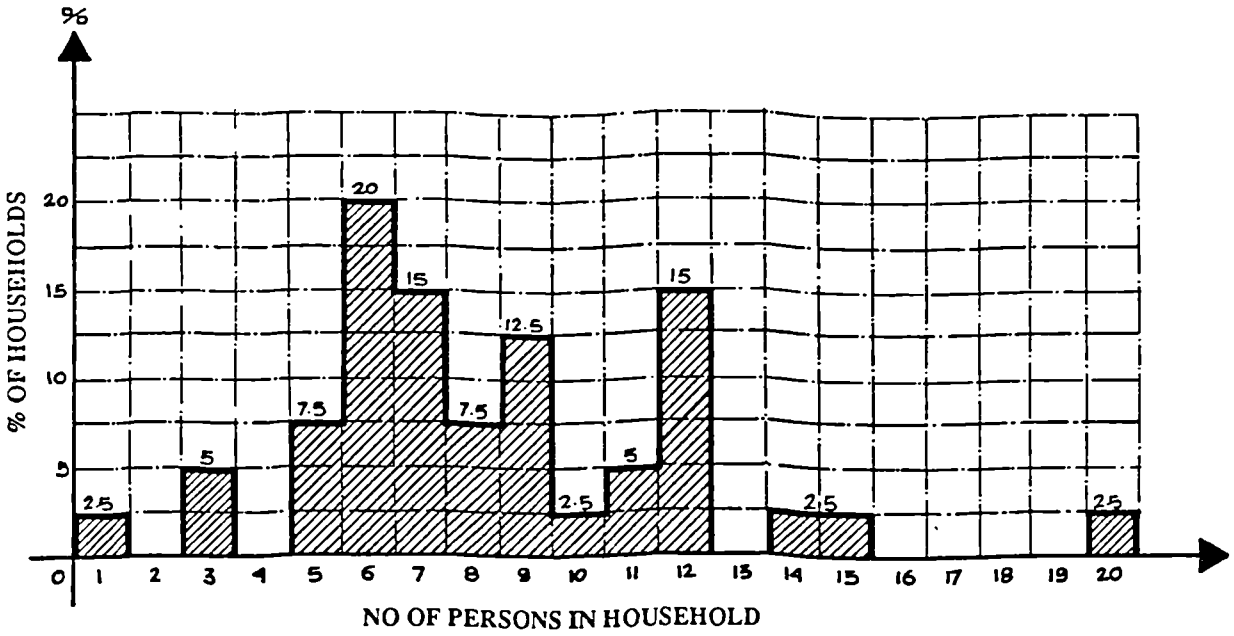


Fig. 8.3: Household Sizes.

Household Composition	No. of Households	%
Nuclear	27	67.5
Extended	13	32.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.2: Household Composition.

Regarding household heads, thirty five households are headed by the father. The other five are headed by the mother with the help of the oldest male in the family except one case in which an elderly woman lives by herself and is looked after by neighbours and relatives (Table 8.3). It was reported that four fathers out of these five cases were killed during the conflict. It is significant that only one household out of the five cases has been able to start rebuilding, and only so because of the high number of working members (four persons). In fact the number of working members in a family affects its recovery process, income and ability to rebuild its dwelling.

Household Head	No. of Household	%
Father	35	87.5
Mother + Son	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.3: Household Head.

8.2.3 AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

The age structure indicates that the sample population is a relatively young one. 56.6% of the individuals in the sample are no more than 24 years old of which 26.4% are aged below 15 and 30.2% are between 15 and 24. 64.1% of the sample are in productive age band between 15-54 years. Also 9.9% of the sample are above 54 years of age (Table 8.4).

Age	Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 4	13	3.89	7	2.10
5 - 9	12	3.59	13	3.89
10 - 14	19	5.69	24	7.19
15 - 19	24	7.19	27	8.08
20 - 24	26	7.78	24	7.19
25 - 29	29	8.69	16	4.79
30 - 34	9	2.69	3	0.9
35 - 39	8	2.4	9	2.69
40 - 44	6	1.8	8	2.4
45 - 49	2	0.6	3	0.9
50 - 54	9	2.69	11	3.29
55 - 59	3	0.9	5	1.49
60^{+}	14	4.19	10	2.99
Total	174	52.10	160	47.90

Table. 8.4: Age-Sex Structure of the Sample.
Percentage of Each Group is to the Total.
(The table Includes the 11 males who are temporarily outside the country: 8 for study and 3 for work.)

The sex ratio of the sample shows further that there are 109 men to every 100 women. This ratio decreases when we exclude the number of absentee males (working or studying outside the country); it becomes 102 males to every 100 females. This is likely to be sustained because of overseas migration.

Taking into consideration these and other features of the Table 8.4, we can project several reconstruction requirements. Firstly, the needs for school and medical attention especially for children up to 14 years of age whose number represents 26.4%, also an indication that dependency is relatively high. Secondly, the need for job opportunities especially for people between 20-39 years of age who represent 37.1% of the sample. Thirdly, the need for houses for the new families resulting from future marriage from the group of people between 15-29 years old (43.7%). These needs have been expressed by many parents: "we want our children to get married and to have a house of their own". On the other hand many young men said that they cannot get married due to the difficult economic situation; the priority is to rebuild the original family house. This could have major implications on the community's social structure.

8.2.4 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

It should be noted that it was difficult to collect precise data about people's incomes and expenditures. The difficulty of this task was anticipated during the first stages of the fieldwork. However, this did not prevent the author from making another attempt during the survey, but this also proved unsuccessful. The impossibility of obtaining reliable figures could be attributed to many factors. First, the people were rather reticent in declaring their incomes, fearing that this would deprive them from future relief. "We are surviving ... We are managing ... Thank God ..." are typical answers of the community when income question were put to them. In two cases when incomes were declared (LL7000 and LL9000; £1 = LL1200), they were far from credible [4]. Second, the family's

income is generated through diverse sources, either the family head has multiple sources of income or else there are several income-earners in the family. Third, concerning expenditure as a means of income determination, it also proved to be unsuccessful. People could not estimate accurately their expenditure due to its varied pattern (daily, weekly, monthly and even yearly). Moreover, other problems were noticed including households' inability to estimate accurately the value of in-kind income (e.g animals kept or crops harvested).

In terms of priorities, 35 cases stated that food is the first priority, then education and medical care, followed by clothing, and "necessities of life and emergency expenses". Only 5 cases, of the rebuilding group, listed housing as a third priority after food and medical care. Crude as the data are, one can immediately notice that housing is not listed as a prime priority. Survival, uncertainty and expectation are major factors which play a more important role in this respect.

Focusing on gaining a clear perspective about households' incomes and expenditures, with a view to deriving insights into the community's ability to support reconstruction, proved to be impossible. As a result, the emphasis was deliberately shifted to number of earners in the family. Together with occupational structure, this allowed some broad conclusions to be advanced regarding the community's economic potential.

Among the sample households, 16 family heads have only one source of income of which 10 households have several earners (two to four). Households with two sources of income represent the majority; 22 cases of which 16 cases are with more than one bread winner (Table 8.5). The diversity and multiplicity of income generation opportunities could be a positive sign for economic recovery.

Generally speaking, the community prefers salaried jobs. This point is supported by the data on occupational structure of household heads. Table (8.6) reveals that only four households out of 40 depend on agriculture as the only source of income, but many

No. of income sources of household heads	No. of cases	No. of bread winners	
		One	Multi
1	16	6	10
2	22	6	16
3	2	1	1
Total	40	13	27

Table 8.5: Number of income sources of household heads and number of bread-winners.

Source of income	Details	No. of cases
Pension	From: Army, Internal Security Forces	8
Army & Internal Security Forces	-----	7
Employee	Accountant (2), Health Ministry , Agriculture Research Institute, Barouk Water Board, Caretaker.	6
Worker	Skilled: Builder, Bamboo Craftsman, Tractor Driver, Technician, Electrician, Stone Cutter.	6
	Unskilled: Shopkeeper, Casual (5)	6
Agriculture	Work on their own land	4
Teacher	-----	2
Trade	-----	1
Total		40

Table 8.6: Occupational Structure of Household Heads.

income-earners were reported for each of these four cases. However, agricultural activity has been listed as a second source of income in the majority of cases. Mixed sources of income indicate two contradictory features. On the one hand salaried jobs, as prime sources of income, display the economic changes in the village life associated with modernization. On the other hand agricultural activities, despite diminishing to a second source are evidence of the tenacity of the traditional economy, which though not unique to al-Burjain, must nonetheless be underscored. Furthermore, multiple sources of income have had an important role in maintaining families' survival during displacements and could have a major role on the families' ability to rebuild their dwellings.

Regarding the adult sons and daughters occupational structure, Table 8.7 shows that agriculture and traditional skills have been eroded. It also shows that many in the younger generation prefer salaried jobs or self-employed ones. Two important factors are behind this type of occupation; the first is the low productivity of agriculture. The second is the preference for stable sources of income. Nevertheless, the available data do not enable us to assess the exact proportion of children who help their parents in agriculture in their free time.

Table 8.8 shows that the dependency ratio is high within the community. Out of 334 persons, there are 250 economically inactive persons: 54 in the group of parents and extended kin; 47 in the group of children who completed study and not working; and 149 children still attending school. In this light, reconstruction could be a means of creating job opportunities and income generation within the community.

On the basis of the Tables (8.6 to 8.8), and the economic features outlined above, sketchy as they seem, still lead us to advance a few broad inferences about the nature and character of the community:

Source of income	Details	No. of persons
Army & Internal Security Forces	-----	19
Employee	Nurse (2), Accountant (4) Hospital Adm., Public Adm., Health Ministry, Business, Siblin Cement Factory (2)	13
Professional	Doctor (3), Engineer (4)	7
Teacher	-----	5
Worker	Skilled: Painter, Hairdresser Carpenter, Tractor Driver	4
Trade	-----	1
Total		49

Table 8.7: Occupational Structure of Adult Sons and Daughters.

Group	No.	Active (working)	Dependent	
			Not working	At school
Parents & Extended Kin	89	35	54	---
Children	245	49	47	149
Total	334	84	101	149
			250	

Table 8.8: Number of Active and Dependent Persons in the Sample

- The proliferation of new professionals and skills is significant in more than a numerical or quantitative way. New occupations and skills - whether salaried or professional - are not only the carriers of new skills, they are also the shapers of opinions and new ideas.

- The coexistence of traditional and modern sources of income does possess the attributes which have been associated with social and economic changes (urbanization and commercialisation). No doubt, the scale and scope of social change will ultimately dilute part of many traditional attachments.

8.2.5 LITERACY

Given the community occupational structure, it is not surprising that the people have a fairly high level of education especially when it comes to the children. Table 8.9 shows that 58 persons out of 89, representing the number of parents and extended kin, are without any formal schooling. Many of them declared that they can, to a certain extent, read and write. They received their informal education in "the old way under the tree". However, formal education is expected as a norm among the younger generation of parents and extended kin (Table 8.9).

The picture changes when the parents and children groups are matched against each other. Table 8.10 reveals that 134 persons are still attending school. 23 students are at university level of which 8 are proceeding with their education outside the country (Algeria, France, Italy, Russia, Canada). 88 students, representing the largest proportion, are still in the elementary level.

Though the information at hand cannot project the degree of change which could be brought about by education, the close correlation between literacy and modernisation is fairly well established (Khalaf, 1973: 74-77). On the one hand, literacy acts as a direct agent in broadening people's horizons, increasing their knowledge, enhancing their skills and sharpening their interests and aspirations. On the other hand,

Level	Expected Age	Number of Persons	%
Elementary	(5 - 10)	7	7.87
Preparatory	(11 - 15)	12	13.48
Secondary	(16 - 20)	9	10.11
University	(21+)	3	03.37
None	---	58	65.17
Total		89	100

Table 8.9: Parents' and Extended Kin's Level of Education.

Level	Expected Age	Attending school No.	%	Finished No.	%	Total
Pre-School	Under 5	15	6.12	--	--	15
Elementary	(5 - 10)	44	17.96	17	6.94	58
Preparatory	(11 - 15)	48	19.59	40	16.33	88
Secondary	(16 - 20)	14	5.71	19	7.76	33
Vocational	(11 - 20)	5	2.04	6	2.45	11
University	21+	23	9.39	14	5.71	37
Total		149	60.81	96	39.19	245

Table 8.10: Children's Level of Education.
At the university level, there are 8 males studying outside the country.
Vocational study such as: electrical, Nursing, secretary

with education people's expectations becoming higher, it also implies the likely with refusal and resentment towards work on the land. The younger generation begins to view such kind of work as degrading and detrimental to their dignity and prestige.

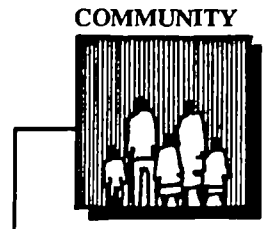
8.2.6 RESUME OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis focused on the household; detailing different aspects: size, age-sex structure, income and expenditure, and literacy. A variety of issues, opportunities, constraints and priorities have been identified from the analysis (Table 8.11). On the one hand, the analysis revealed the social and economic changes in household structure resulting from the modernization process. These changes could influence people's aspirations, needs and priorities regarding their future built environment. On the other hand, the analysis has shown that the changes did not dilute completely the traditional aspects in which the family as a social unit is still offering support and help to its members.

8.3 ORIGINAL DWELLING

The purpose of this part is to focus attention on two aspects; the first examines the process and the physical characteristics of the dwelling in al-Burjain before destruction (infrastructure, size, materials, etc.). The second studies the potential demonstrated by the people to house themselves, and measures the degree to which households optimised their housing potentials in terms of resources at their disposal. More specifically, the study of al-Burjain provides an opportunity to examine shelter built according to people's requirements and decisions rather than through planned systems.

It should be noted that discussion of dwelling before destruction, in terms of process and physical characteristics, is similar to ad-Debbieh and to the present situation in most rural areas including the newly rebuilt dwellings in al-Burjain [5]. Therefore, examples from ad-Debbieh will be used as a proxy to aid the visualisation of some physical aspects of the destroyed dwellings in al-Burjain.



COMMUNITY

HOUSEHOLD

- Large household size (8.35 Persons/household) → Negative impacts on privacy and crowding level
- Dominant nuclear family (67.5%) → Sign of social change
  Extended families (32.5%) → Family as a social unit still plays an important role in terms of support and provision of shelter during crisis
- Household head: → Affects recovery process of household and its income
  35 are headed by fathers
  05 are headed by mothers & oldest males → (disadvantaged group)

AGE-SEX STRUCTURE

- Younger generation (56.6%)
- 64.1% productive age

→ Indication of some future needs:
- Schools & Public facilities
- Job opportunities
- Dwelling units

- Equal sex ratio: 102 M. to 100 F. → Resulted from outside migration

INCOME & EXPENDITURE

- Multiple sources of income
- Multiple bread winners → Positive aspects (rapid economic recovery)
- Preference for salaried jobs → Signs of economic change in village life
- Unproductive agriculture sector
- 47 active persons are unemployed → Need for job opportunities
- Housing is not a prime priority → Uncertainty, survival and fear play major roles in this respect

LITERACY

- High level of education → Sign of socio-economic changes
  Refusal of children to work on land
  Affect peoples' perceptions and aspirations
- Lack of vocational education responsive to rural conditions → Development of an education system which generates job opportunities for younger generation and responds to future needs of reconstruction

✱ CONSTRAINTS
✶ ISSUES
● OPPORTUNITIES
■ PRIORITIES

Table 8.11: Resume of Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Community of al-Burjain.

8.3.1 DWELLING: THE PROCESS

Dwelling is the product of a complex process which involves planning, decisions, controls and resources (both material and human). Discussion of this process in al-Burjain, before destruction, reveals that the construction of houses rested almost entirely within households' control. Public intervention has been only limited to building regulations and issuing permits which in many cases were ignored [6].

8.3.1.1 TENURE

Forms of tenure, including land and dwelling, have a profound effect in stimulating dwelling construction or improvement. The survey shows that households interviewed had legal access to land and had owned their dwellings . In terms of land acquisition, 30 households obtained land through inheritance (Table 8.12) as land passes from father to children which resulted that immediate neighbours, in many cases, being related by blood. The subdivision of land into small plots may partly explain the compact nature of the village especially at the centre. Only 5 households had bought the land from members of their own family; and the other 5 households did not give an answer to this question [7].

Land Acquisition	No. of Households	%
Inheritance	30	75
Purchase	5	12.5
No Answer	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.12: Land Acquisition in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

In terms of plot occupancy, the majority of plots had more than one household on a plot; for instance a father and son(s) or brother(s). These households had lived in buildings up to three floors rather than in adjacent dwellings in order to maximise the use of land (Table

8.13). With land considered as family property, each household owns a separate flat. However, this is of minor importance as long as households have access to land which is governed by individual arrangement within the related households.

No. of Floors/ Buildings / Plot Occupancy Rate	1	2	3
1	5	10 + 6*	--
2	--	13	1 + 3*
3	--	--	2

Table 8.13: Plot Occupancy Rates in al-Burjain Before Destruction.
(* Mixed used; usually commercial activities in the ground floor).

In general, a villager sells one plot of land either to finance construction activities or to buy another adjacent to the one he owns to make it easier and more manageable for agricultural purposes. Purchase of land to build on, by outsiders, is a relatively recent phenomenon in al-Burjain and only emerged after the village destruction (discussion with key figures).

Regarding dwelling acquisition, Table 8.14 shows that the majority of households had controlled partly or completely the building process, including the design and construction, of their dwellings. By partially, we mean that the householder had acquired the land and a dwelling to which he had extended later on and by completely, that the householder had acquired only the land on which he built his dwelling. Only two respondents had not introduced changes to their dwellings after inheritance. Table 8.14 also shows that there was only one respondents whose dwelling had been bought from someone else with an extension being added later on.

Dwelling Acquisition	No. of Households	%
Built	22	55
Inheritance	2	5
Inheritance & Built	15	37.5
Purchase & Built	1	2.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.14: Dwelling Acquisition in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

The pattern of acquisition of land and dwellings reinforces the interpretation that they were not commodities or goods which were offered or exchanged in the market. As land and sometimes a dwelling pass from one generation to another through inheritance added to their market values a symbolic one. This symbolic value, as people frequently described it, is related to issues such as: roots, childhood, accumulation of ancestors' efforts, etc.

8.3.1.2 FINANCE

A variety of sources were used to finance building activities. These are personal sources, including savings, incomes and contributions from working members of the family (Table 8.15).

Sources of Finance	No. of Cases	%
Personal	24	60
Per. + Loan (Institutions)	3	7.5
Per. + Loan (relatives)	2	5
Per. + internal subsidy	11	27.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.15: Sources of Financing Building Process in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

The majority of cases (24), representing 60% of the sample, pointed out that personal sources of finance were the only source of financing building activities. Internal subsidy was also practised, in 11 cases (27.5%), meaning the provision of money, building materials or new rooms for close relatives. This may include rooms built by the household head for his newly married son or for a dependent individual, as well as the opposite - for example, the construction of a room by a well-to-do son for his ageing parents. Loans were also used on a small scale from two different sources in addition to personal sources. Institutional sources (soft loans from the Army Cooperation) were used in two cases representing 5% of the sample. Loans from relatives represent 7.5% (3 cases) of the sample. The analysis has shown that modes of financing building activities were confined under the households' control. This depended on their willingness to invest in their dwellings which was influenced by interrelated factors: family growth, saving, expectation, etc.

8.2.1.3 BUILDING PROCESS

Most households interviewed (38) mentioned that dwellings were built incrementally depending mainly on saving opportunities. The most common way of house building was to employ a local builder, who recruited several assistants and labourers from al-Burjain or nearby villages, and the design was discussed on site. As for building materials, the household purchased them from local dealers. Self-help in house building was rarely practised but family members frequently assisted in unskilled tasks such as: supervision, carrying materials, arrangement of site, etc. wherever they had free time outside their works. The process contrasts with the traditional one - described in Chapter 7. This deviation from the communal participatory process has been generated from social and economic changes associated with modernisation. Consequently, two main inputs of the building process - labour and materials - have been commercialized to a high degree.

8.3.1.4 CONSIDERATIONS AND PROBLEMS DURING CONSTRUCTION

Many considerations, concerning the design of the dwelling, were emphasized by the households during their discussion with the builders. Respondents were asked to list the major considerations which were the focus of their concerns during the building of their dwellings. Despite the poor response about the design aspects of the dwelling (13 respondents), Table (8.16) shows the following:

Considerations	No. of Times Mentioned
* Outside space: garden; terrace; or both	20
* Future extension	17
* Entrance(s)	14
* Location: orientation access; parking	12
* No answer [8]	13
Total	40

Table 8.16: Major Design Considerations Emphasized by Households During Discussion with Builders with Respect to Original Dwellings.

Having an open space; a terrace or a garden or both of them, seems to be a major priority, followed by the potential for future extension, arrangement of separate entrances to the dwelling and locational factors (orientation, access). This indicates that households have paid special attention to the utilisation of land. It also shows that a house encompassed more than rooms and included spaces which were not enclosed by walls or roofed over.

The building process faced many problems. Analysis of responses, with respondents free to list as many problems as they wished, shows that lack of finance and enough water supply, distance to main road (carrying materials), and availability of materials and skills were the difficulties which impinged on the construction process at one time or another (Table 8.17). These problems provide scope for effective external intervention in future reconstruction. Enhancing the rebuilding process by tackling these problems could have a positive effect on people's recovery process.

Problems	No. of Times Mentioned
* Finance	31
* Water supply	18
* Access to land (location)	15
* Materials availability	11
* Skills availability	08
* No problem	01

Table 8.17: Major Problems Confronting Households During Construction of their Original Dwellings.

8.3.2 DWELLING: PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

8.3.2.1 SIZES AND COMPONENTS

The distribution of sample dwelling sizes expressed in terms of rooms, used for living or sleeping, is given in Table 8.18. The mean number of rooms per dwelling was 4.7 and the range of sizes extends from 2 to 8 rooms, in which four roomed dwellings clearly stand out as being the model size. Additionally, each dwelling was reported to have a kitchen and a toilet inside except one case in which the toilet was outside. The dwelling area is typically between 100 m^2 to 250 m^2.

No. of Rooms	No. of Dwellings	%	Total/Rooms
2	1	2.5	2
3	5	12.5	15
4	16	40	64
5	8	20	40
6	5	12.5	30
7	4	10	28
8	1	2.5	08
Total	40	100	187

Table 8.18: Dwelling Sizes in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

In addition to the enclosed roofed area, respondents were also asked to list the features of their dwellings such as open spaces and distinct elements. The answers are summarized in Table 8.19.

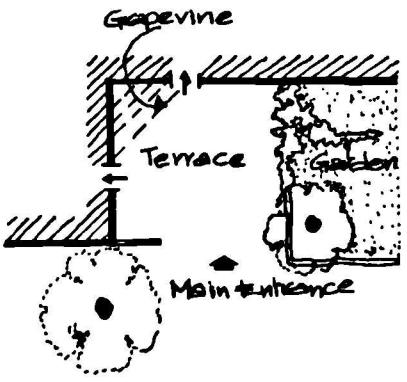
Important Features	No. of Cases
*. Terrace	23
* Garden	22
* Grapevine	18
* Well	18
* *A'arzal*	15
* Animals	12

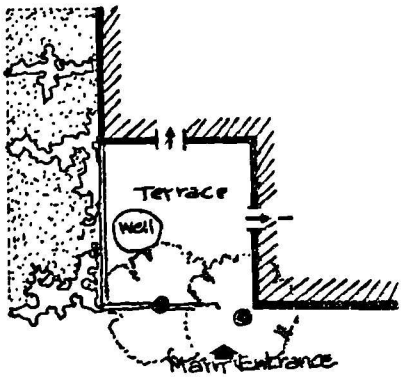
Table 8.19: Important Features of Dwelling in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

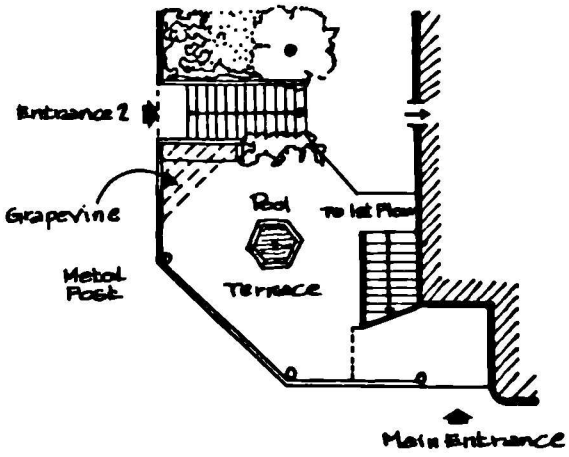
A terrace (*Dar*) in front of the house had many functions; it was a place for receiving guests and others domestic activities such as washing, drying food, etc. A small garden (*Jidar*) was used for growing vegetables and fruit for family consumption. A well (*Bir*) to collect rainfall was available in 18 cases. Moreover, 12 households reported that they had a place for animals (chicken, ducks, rabbits, pigeons, etc.) Grapevines, on a part of the terrace or the roof of the dwelling, and *A'arzals* built from reeds on the roof, and used for sleeping during summer also existed in 18 cases each. These features are illustrated in Figures 8.4 & 8.5. No distinct relationships could be established between these different features as this was related to land availability and individual cases. One exception is in the case of animals which was always associated with the availability of a garden. During the survey, diagrams for the arrangement of internal and external spaces of some of the original destroyed dwellings were developed with the help of a young and educated member of each family (Fig. 8.6).

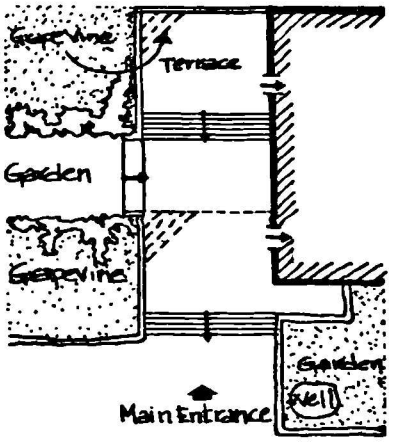
8.3.2.2 NUMBER OF FLOORS AND MATERIALS USED

The majority of households were living in buildings of more than one floor; 29 and 6 households respectively in two and three-floor buildings. Sometimes, in some cases different floors were used either for commercial activities or to accommodate another closely related household - a brother or a married son. In other cases the dwelling itself was on different floors. The main use of the buildings was residential, although many









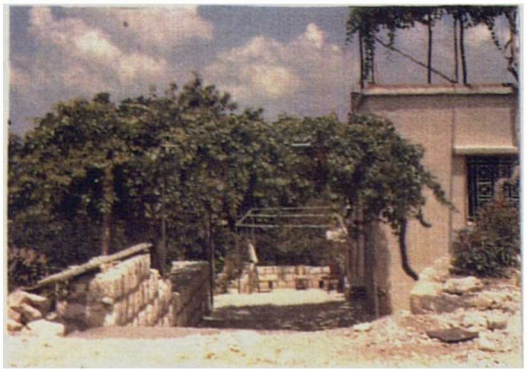


Fig. 8.4: Examples of outside Spaces.

Fig. 8.5: Examples of A'arzals.

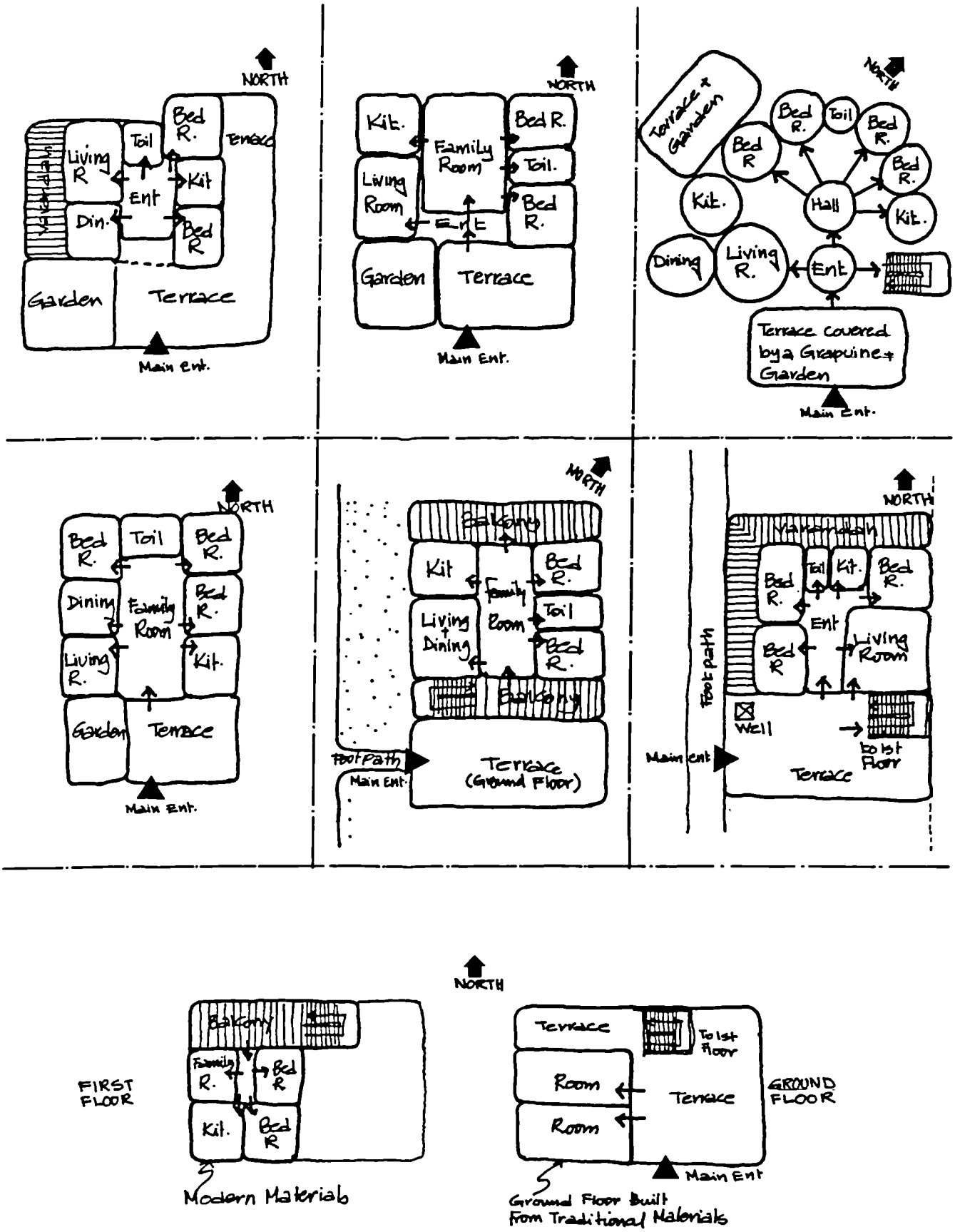


Fig. 8.6: Diagrams of arrangement of External and Internal Spaces of Some of the Destroyed Dwellings of al-Burjain.

buildings (9 cases were partly used for commercial activities. This is in buildings, more than one floor, on the main street where the ground floors were used as shops or workshops. Table 8.20 identifies activities and the number of dwelling units per building:

Floors	No. of Buildings	Commercial	No. of Units
1	5	--	5
2	29	6	42
3	6	3	14
Total	40	9	61

Table 8.20: Dwellings According to Floor Number, Activities and Number of Households Per Buildings.

Three categories of building conditions have been documented of which modern materials (cement blocks and reinforced concrete) account to about half of the surveyed sample (Table 8.21).

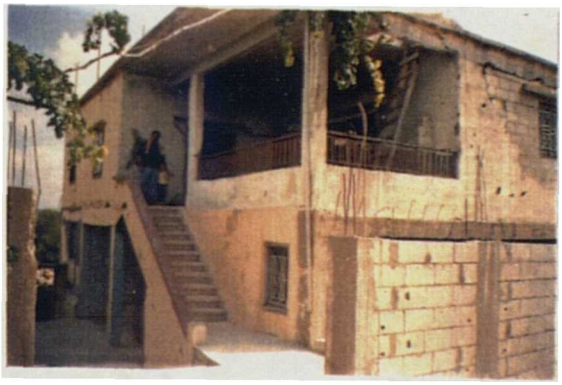
Materials	No. of Dwellings	%
Traditional	4	4
Mixed	15	37.5
Modern	21	52.5
Total	40	100

Table 8.21: Number of Dwellings According to Building Materials Used in al-Burjain Before Destruction.
For examples see Fig. 8.7.

The dominance of modern and mixed materials reveals the aspect of change and transformation in the dwelling as a result of socio-economic and technological changes to which the community has been exposed. The change in the dwelling unit has affected the character of the village. Discussing the issue of building materials, all households who used new materials mentioned that the abandonment of traditional materials was due to three essential factors: cost, availability and skills.

Traditional Materials

Combination of Traditinal and Modern Materials



Modern Materials

Fig. 8.7: Examples from ad-Debbieh of Dwelling Types According to Building Materials.

8.3.2.3 DESIGN WEAKNESSES

It is sometimes assumed that people's full control over the building process will result in a satisfactory built environment. The case of al-Burjain has proved however that the process is not without problems or mistakes, in terms of design, which often emerge after the occupation of the dwelling. Respondents were free to point out one or more problems faced after the erection of their dwellings (Table 8.22).

Weaknesses	No. of Households
* Space arrangment. & circulation	13
* Dwelling appearance	11
* Entrances position	8
* No. of toilets	5
* No problems	7
* No. answer	14

Table 8.22: Weaknesses in Dwelling Design in al-Burjain Before Destruction.

The survey shows that better design could be achieved if special attention was paid to circulation and spatial arrangement, entrances, number of toilets and the general appearance of the dwelling. These problems could be traced to the ad hoc incremental process and the transformation in the dwelling forms and materials resulting from social and economic changes.

8.3.2.4 INFRASTRUCTURE

There are many ways in which infrastructure has an effect on people's health, comfort, economy and social life. Additionally, adequate provision of infrastructure would prevent many disabling diseases which can affect human resources (Cairncross & Feachem, 1983). These resources are the basic elements of development and reconstruction.

The existing infrastructure in al-Burjain has suffered substantial damage inflicted on the networks and services through the hostilities. The discussion of the type of services in al-Burjain, before destruction, provided in the selected family case histories seems to be typical for all 40 households interviewed. This could be summarised as follows:

Electricity was connected to every house in al-Burjain, but the problem lay in the intermittent power cuts during peak demand periods. In terms of refuse disposal, all households dealt with their rubbish individually, due to the lack of a centralised collection system, either by throwing it on empty plots (valleys, bushes, etc.) or by burning it in a hole dug in the ground near the house.

Piped water was connected to each house but the problem was that not enough water comes through especially during the summer. Various sources of supply were used; 18 out of 40 households mentioned that wells for collecting rainwater from the roofs of their dwellings were available, of which many were shared between relatives, others relied on purchasing water or else carried water from the nearby springs.

Sanitation was provided exclusively by pit latrines which were cleaned and emptied periodically by someone from the village using a vacuum pump. Authoritative opinion on this issue has indicated that from a health point of view, there is no inherent disadvantage to this method of sanitation provided that the soils are appropriate to ensure proper seepage, and adequate water supply (Cairncross & Feachem, 1983: 114-142). Despite that people were aware that by lowering the pit latrine surface within one metre of the well bottom, one would expect contamination problems either in respect of technical aspects or from neighbours especially in the village centre where density is high and the layout is compact. Additionally, there is possible contamination of natural water courses; all these may make it difficult to maintain adequate standards of hygiene.

8.3.2.5 FUTURE PLANS

Security of tenure - land and dwellings - have encouraged people to invest in housing on the basis of their individual ability and willingness to exchange fiscal resources for housing goods and services. However, this ability and willingness was not only limited to dwelling construction but encompassed future plans including: extension (vertical), maintenance (external) and improvement (internal) (Table 8.23). This indicates that when people have control over the building process, they are willing to be responsible and to invest in upgrading, over time, the conditions of their dwellings. This is in contrast to the public conventional approach which considers housing as "complete finished products".

Future Plan	No. of Responses
* Extension	33
* Improvement	32
* Maintenance	18

Table 8.23: Households' Future Plans Concerning their Original Dwellings.

8.3.2.6 PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEIR VILLAGE AND DWELLINGS

It is not surprising that all households interviewed expressed strong positive attitudes towards their village and dwellings. They stressed the satisfactory social environment which exceeds the physical and material aspects. The survey shows that the built environment was not only a function of the spaces needed for daily activities but was related to social and psychological needs. During further discussion on this point, respondents were free to mention as many needs as they wished. Analysis of the responses indicates that despite general agreement among the respondents as to what needs the dwelling and village satisfy, there were differences in evaluating the relative importance of these needs, and in emphasising different aspects of each. Three aspects were shared between village and dwelling representing the social and psychological meanings of **place**.

People did not differentiate between the two, dwelling and village, as both of them represent different scales of "**home**". In addition to the social and psychological meanings of the dwelling, it holds **economic importance** and represents the "bank" of savings and efforts over many years.

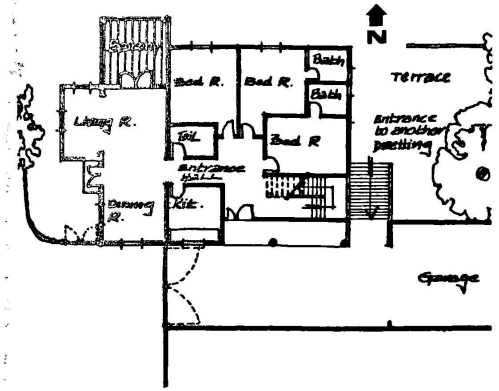
	Meanings	No. of Times Mentioned
DWELLING & VILLAGE	Existence & continuity	27
	Childhood & memories	26
	Comfort & satisfaction	25
	Ancestors, roots & origin	23
	Security & settlement	22
DWELLING	Savings, efforts	24

Table 8.24: People's Attitude Towards their Village and Dwellings (al-Burjain).

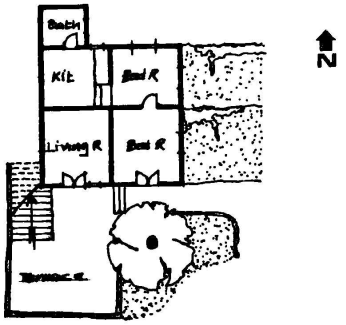
The village in general and the dwelling specifically fulfil the needs of those interviewed to control a physical area; this control provided conditions for feelings of security and comfort. These feelings have a historical dimension, such as roots, ancestors, as well as a futuristic one related to continuity and existence. As Marcussen (1990, 155) describes it in the case of Jakarta: "a socio-ideological attitude towards the house dominates over an economic-rational attitude with the majority of house owners". This socio-ideological attitude could have a great influence in encouraging displaced people to return to their villages with the eventual settlement of the political situation.

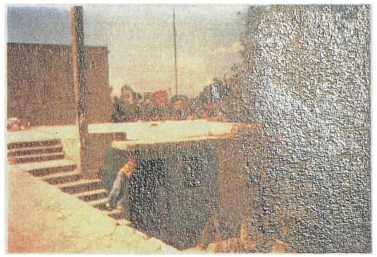
8.3.3 RESUME OF ORIGINAL DWELLING

Varied aspects of the dwelling have been analysed and discussed. In order to provide a visual representation of the physical characteristics of the original damaged dwellings - arrangement of outside and inside spaces, features, forms, etc. - similar dwellings documented from the physical survey in ad-Debbieh are used for illustration with annotated comments (Fig. 8.8).

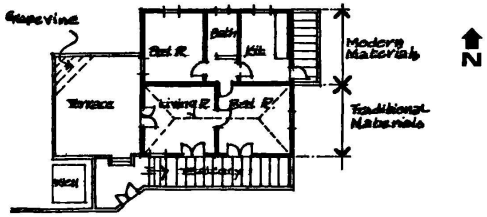


* Household size: 6.
* Family occupies dwelling built from modern materials faced in places with Sandstone.
* Family prefers traditional materials in reconstruction but it cannot afford the expensive cost.

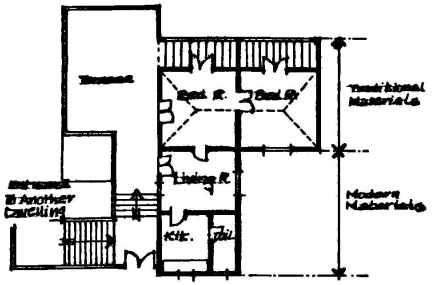




* Household size: 8.
* Family occupies dwelling built from modern materials.
* Family started rebuilding but facing problem in removing damages from the site.

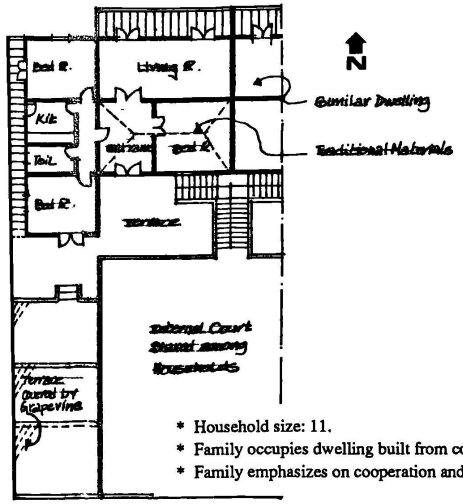


* Household size: 12 (extended family).
* family occupies dwelling built from Combination of modern and traditional materials.
* Family criticized the survey which does not have any immediate solution for the issue of displacement.

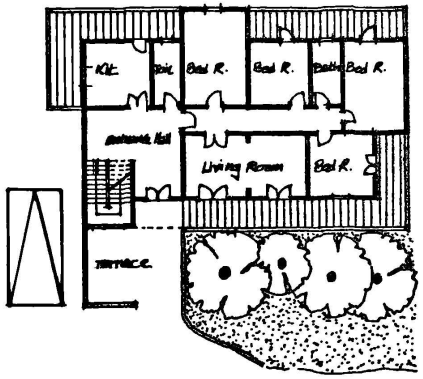


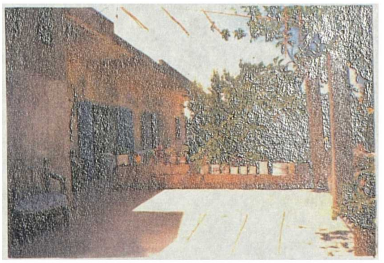
* Household size: 6.
* Family occupies dwelling built from combination of modern and traditional materials.
* Traditional materials are more Beautiful but they are costly.

Fig. 8.8: Examples of Dwellings, in ad-Debbieh, Occupied by Displaced People from al-Burjain.
Space arrengements are similar to original dewllings in al-Burjain.

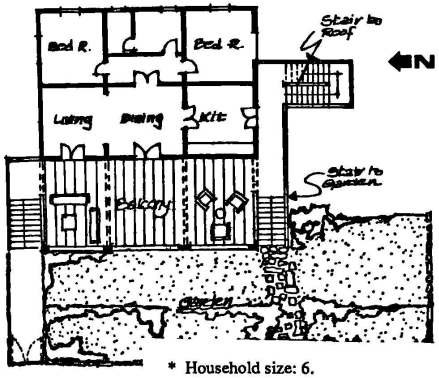


* Household size: 11.
* Family occupies dwelling built from combination of modern and traditional materials.
* Family emphasizes on cooperation and equality during reconstruction of al-Burjain.

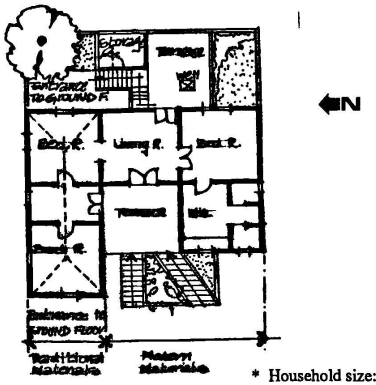




* Household size: 15 (extended family)
* Family occupies dwelling built from modern materials.
* Family recognizes that reconstruction should exhibit traditional and modern characters.



* Household size: 6.
* Family occupies dwelling built from modern materials.
* Family emphasizes that reconstruction should be based on cooperation and equality.



* Household size: 8.
* Family occupies dwelling built from combination of modern and traditional materials.
* Family raised the issue of plot boundaries and cadastral survey.

Fig. 8.8 (Cont'd): Examples of Dwellings, in ad-Debbieh, Occupied by Displaced People from al-Burjain.
Space arrengements are similar to original dewllings in al-Burjain.

The Building process and the varied issues emerging from the data collected are illustrated in Figure 8.9. It shows that housing production in al-Burjain was "commercialized", but not "commodified". People invested in housing production to the extent they felt satisfied that the investment was a permanent basis in a family's life cycle; the investment was of use value but not exchange value. Generally, houses were not bought and sold; a "socio-ideological" attitude towards the house dominated over an economic attitude with the majority of households. People were in control of the major decisions regarding design, construction, materials, management, etc. The building process comes closer to Turner's (1976) concept of "autonomous" housing, built under user control.

8.4 PRESENT DWELLING

The hostile military situation and the lack of support for housing provision coupled with difficult economic conditions did not prevent people obtaining shelter for their families in one away or another. As has been mentioned, three groups of households could be categorised in terms of present dwelling situation:

- households who have *not started rebuilding in al-Burjain*, the original village, and are living in ad-Debbieh, the place of refuge (17 households interviewed).
- households who are living in occupied dwellings in ad-Debbieh and are in the process of rebuilding their original dwelling in al-Burjain (14 households interviewed),
- households who are living in al-Burjain after finishing most of the reconstruction work on their dwellings (9 households interviewed),

The three groups exhibit both common and specific problems. Generally speaking, in terms of common problems, the sample shows that the households are living in a smaller number of rooms than before, while household size has generally been growing. The mean dwelling size has decreased from 4.7 rooms/dwelling to 3.8. This can be illustrated by comparing the previous and present number of rooms of each dwelling types (Fig. 8.10).

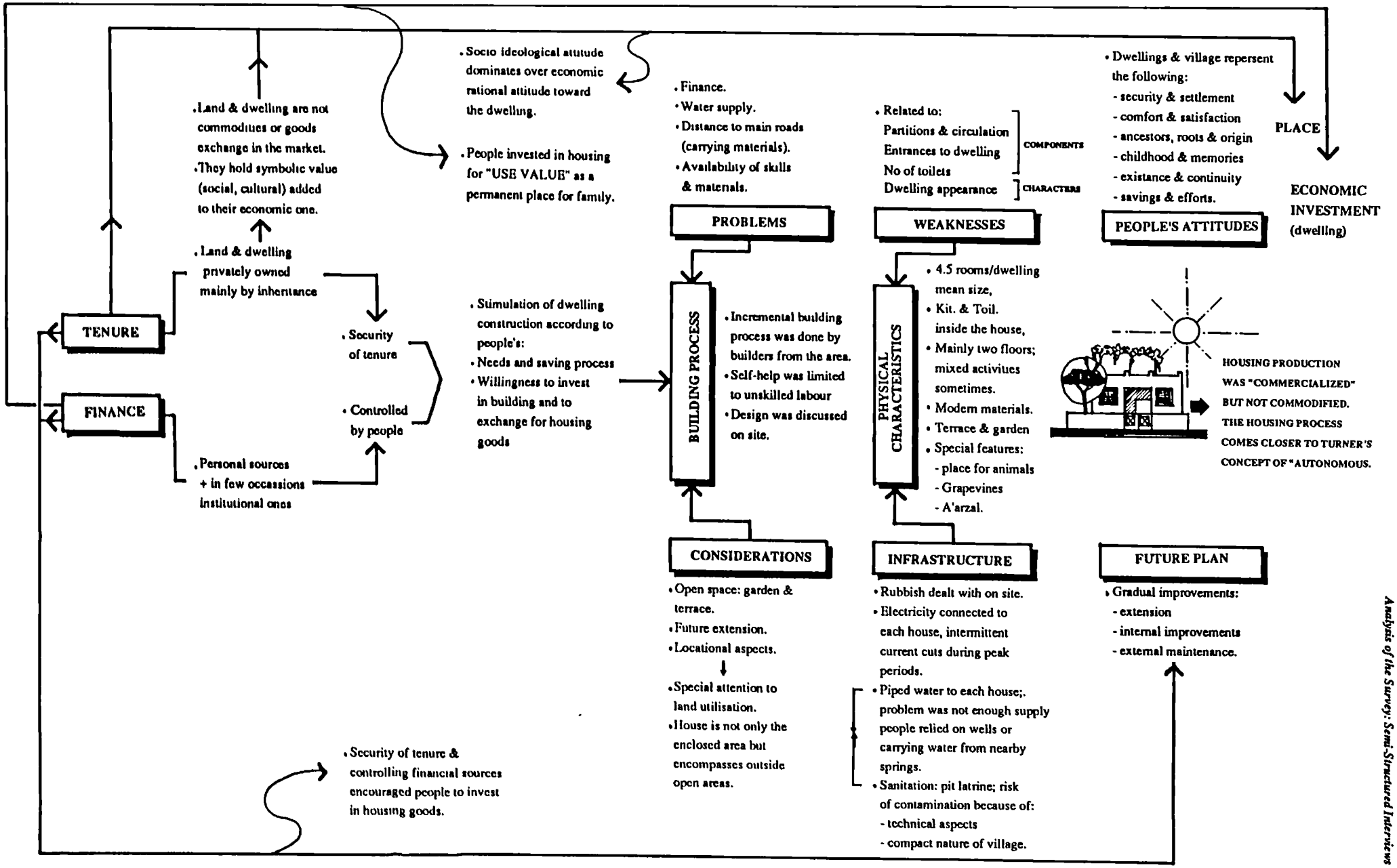
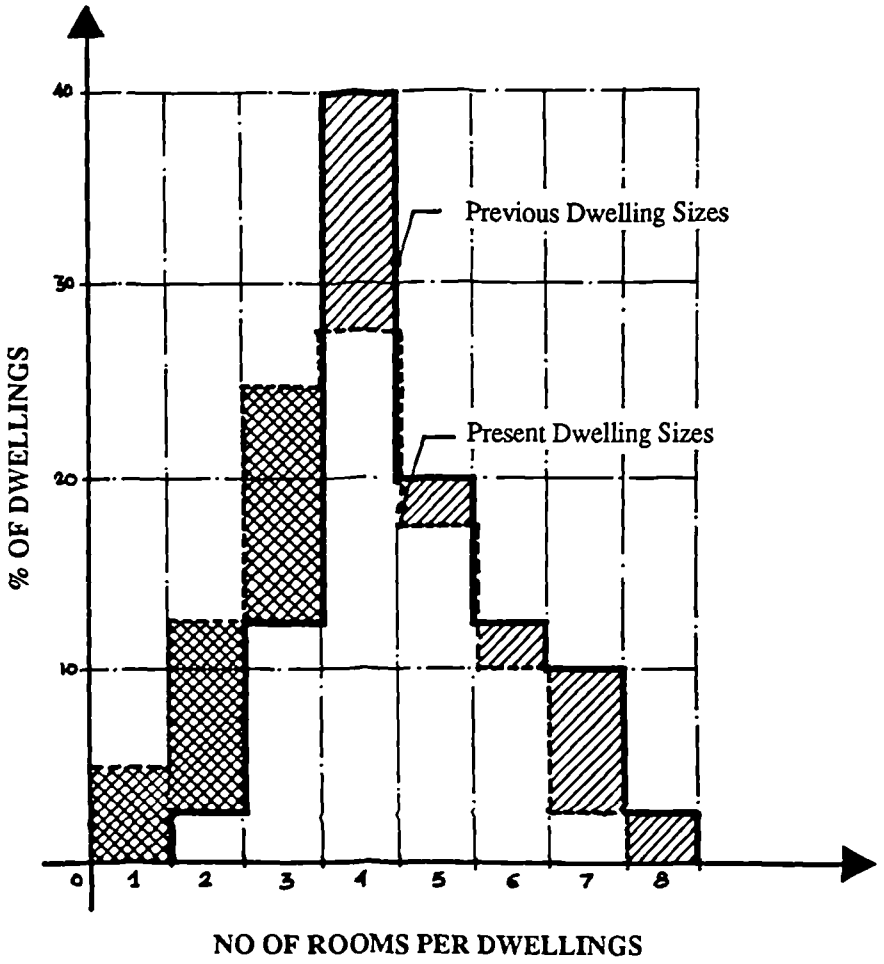


Fig. 8.9: Dwelling Building Process in al-Burjain Before Destruction.



$$\text{Original mean of dwelling size} = \frac{186 \text{ Rooms}}{40 \text{ Dwellings}} = 4.7 \text{ Rooms/Dwelling}$$

$$\text{Present mean of dwelling size} = \frac{152 \text{ Rooms}}{40 \text{ Dwellings}} = 3.8 \text{ Rooms/Dwelling}$$

LOSS

GAIN

Fig. 8.10: Comparison Between Previous and Present Dwellings (Number of Rooms).

All groups suffer from the same infrastructure problems identified before, especially water supply, which intensified with the damage inflicted on the network (Fig. 8.11). Another problem shared between the three groups is the "victimization" feeling; people see themselves as "victims of an imposed conflict and the inability of the government and politicians to stop the destruction of their village and livelihood". The extent of psychological impact of the conflict cannot be objectively evaluated in this survey. However, "scars of war" could be easily observed in the built environment - in al-Burjain and ad-Debbieh - as a daily reminder of the crisis to the people. Some people went further by using empty ammunition for symbolizing the crisis (Fig. 8.12).

Despite shelter provision, households in ad-Debbieh are facing more problems due to their "illegal" housing status. As people expressed, these problems could be returned to the following issues (Table 25):

Problems	**No. of Times Mentioned**
* Dwelling is only a shelter: temporary, no incentive for improvement	26
* Unsettled, insecure	24
* Problems related to damages: water penetration, lack of doors & windows	19

Table 8.25: Problems Facing Displaced People, of al-Burjain, in Place of Refuge (ad-Debbieh).
For problems related to damages see (Fig. 8.13).

People are not motivated to invest in rebuilding activities because of the difficult economic conditions and the instability of the political situation. They are waiting for the "right moment" which is governed by individual household arrangements. In fact, two households had plans drawn by "professionals" but are awaiting convenient conditions. However, the influence of urban dwelling types could be easily observed in these plans.

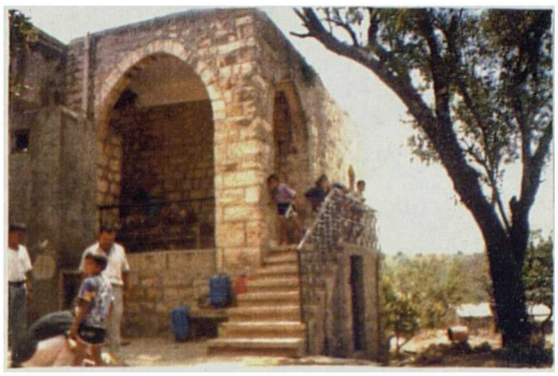


Fig. 8.11: Due to Lack of Adequate Water Supply, Carrying Water from Nearby Springs and Storing Water in Plastic Containers are Common Among Households Interviewed in ad-Debbieh.

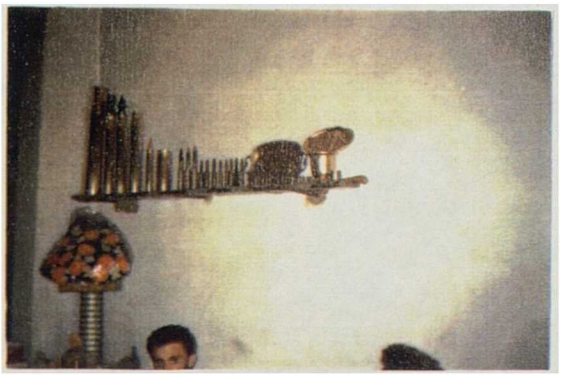


Fig. 8.12: Empty Ammunition Used as a Symbol of the Crisis

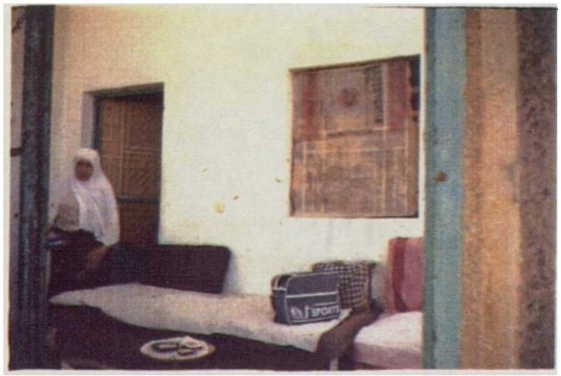


Fig. 8.13: Problems Related to Damage Showing the Unwillingness of People to invest in Houses which do not Belong to Them.

Households who returned to the original village are feeling more secure and satisfied as they are living on their land and in their houses; "we are going to rebuild our houses with or without help". They feel that they have done better in relying on their initiatives and resources rather than being deceived by promises, propaganda and plans which are still "ink on paper". The process of the dwelling has not changed to that already described except that people are facing more problems related to access to land and clearing the site. The building process and physical characteristics of the dwelling are similar to those previously discussed in the original village before destruction. Concerning reconstruction activities, positive aspects could be identified (Fig. 8.14):

- usage of salvaged materials,
- use of traditional features (arches, pitch roof),
- gradual improvement,
- potential for future extension,
- preference to build on the same site,
- mixed activities: residential and commercial,

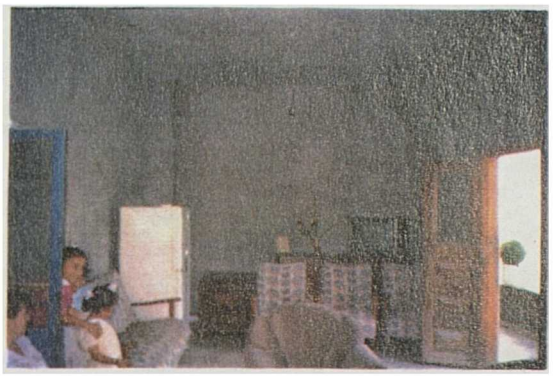
Figure 8.15 provides a visual representation of the physical reconstructed dwellings in al-Burjain. The group of households living in ad-Debbieh whose started rebuilding in the original village exhibits both conditions of the other two groups due to its transitional condition.

8.4. RESUME OF PRESENT DWELLING

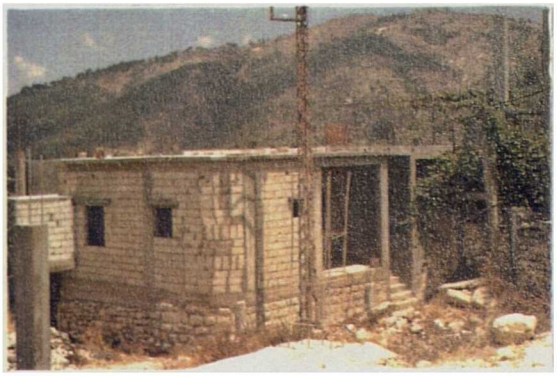
This part of the survey analysis has focused on the present housing situation of the three groups at different stages of reconstruction. Common and specific problems have been identified and discussed, and reconstruction issues have been highlighted. A summary of these problems and their interrelations is in Figure 8.16.

Salvaged materials form the destroyed dwellings.

Use of traditional element (Arches) During reconstruction.

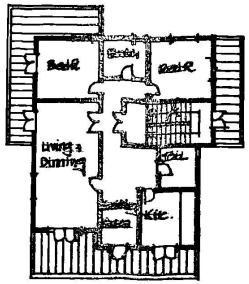


Gradual Improvement.



Preference to built either near or on the same site of the destroyed dwelling.

Fig. 8.14: Positive Aspects During Reconstruction of some Dwellings in al-Burjain.



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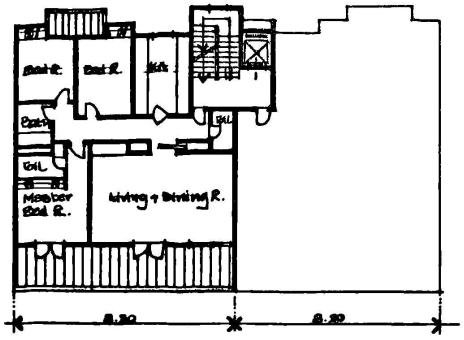
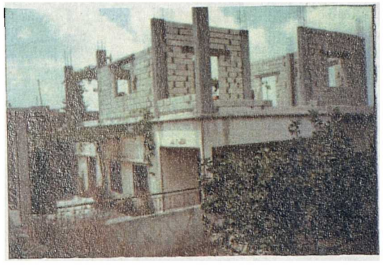
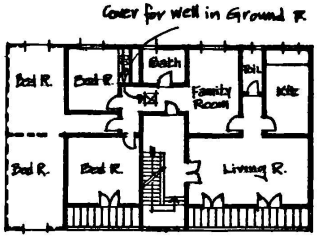
* Household size: 5.
* Family lives in original dwelling which rebuilt from modern materials.
* Family reused steel from the damaged dwelling.
* family follows reconstruction on stages.





* Household size: 9.
* Plan of reconstructed dwelling was prepared by an architect (influence by urban dwelling types).
* Family recognizes that reconstruction should be on stages.



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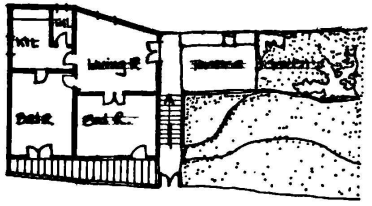
* Household size: 7.
* Family rebuilt the dwelling using modern materials.
* A part of the house is still under reconstruction (rebuilding on stages).



N

* Household size: 7.
* Family rebuilt the dwelling by using modern materials.
* During reconstruction savaged materials from the damaged dwelling were re-used.
* Family rebuilt near the old site.

Fig. 8.15: Examples of the Reconstructed Dwellings.

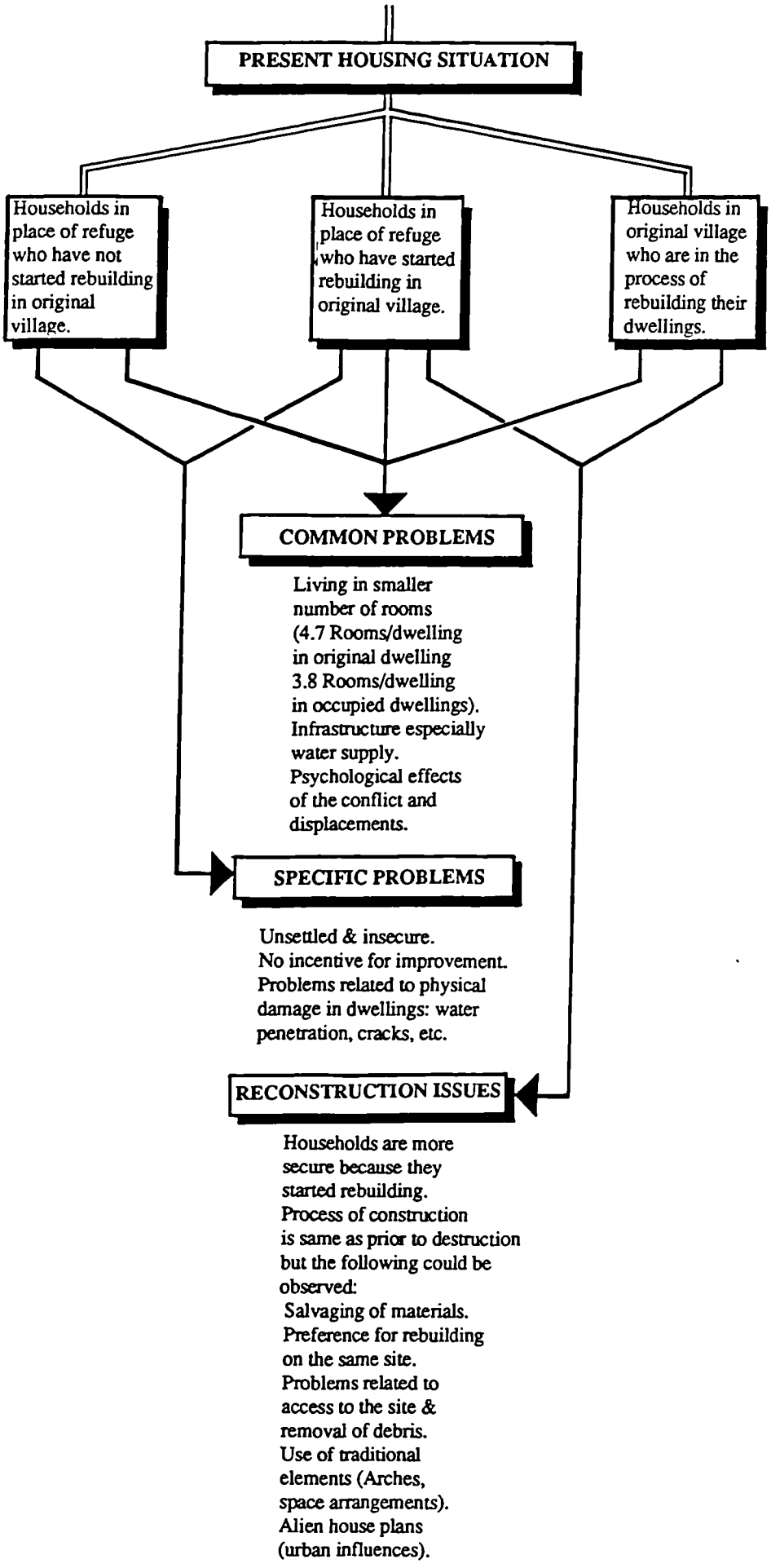


Fig. 8.16: Common and Specific Problems, and Reconstruction Issues emerging from Discussion about the Present Housing Conditions.

8.5 RECONSTRUCTION

Past experiences of reconstruction after disaster show that victims' involvement is invaluable to ensure the satisfaction of user needs and to maximize the use of available resources. Thus, this part of the survey attempted to elicit people's views concerning future reconstruction of their village. Confronted with expectations and preferences (including assistance and government involvement), the identification of needs could not be achieved by simply asking straightforward questions. Despite the fact that respondents liked to see themselves as advice givers, there were problems of exaggeration and selfishness which often resulted in demands for "government should be responsible for everything". The reason for this attitude is that these people see themselves as victims of an imposed conflict in which the government is unable to prevent the deterioration of the situation. The author's familiarity with the socio-economic conditions of the community and its housing processes (the normal or the common) put him in an advantageous position for discussion and negotiation, enabling him to get behind the spontaneous reactions of the people. The author pushed people to think hard and to weigh up the *pros* and *cons* of the different alternatives, thus providing an improved atmosphere for reasonable response. In order to maximize information and to enhance the natural flow of the discussion, issues were grouped and classified by areas, starting from specific to general.

8.5.1 THE REBUILT ENVIRONMENT: PHYSICAL

This part of the interview was devoted to tapping people's thoughts on the reconstruction of their village. It recognized that the built environment should be responsive to people's needs and aspirations. The discussion was divided into two parts: the first concerned with the dwelling as an individual unit and the second with the village as a whole entity.

A. DWELLING LEVEL

Several points were mentioned by the people which should guide professional assistance to people designing of their dwellings. The weight or importance of these points are varied; sometimes they are even incompatible (modern and traditional); this could be returned to different age groups (old, young) and gender interests (male, female). The major points concerning design aspects of the dwelling are summarized in the following Table 8.26:

	Issues	No. of Times Mentioned
CHARACTER	Traditional + Modern	12
	Traditional features	8
	Modern	6
DWELLING COMPONENTS	Terrace	23
	Garden	20
	Extension	17
	Well	16
	Place for animals	15
	Shops on ground floor	11
AS BEFORE	Situation prior destruction	8
	Shelter	6

Table 8.26: Issues Concerning Reconstruction on Dwelling Level Emerging from Survey.

As we notice, these points are related either to the components or to the image of the dwelling. The components are concerned with activities which are compatible with the previously discussed issues of the original dwelling. Concerning image, people preferred the traditional characters, but they were aware of the constraining issue of cost. People will use traditional materials but only if there are possibilities of obtaining these materials and skills to build them at a "reasonable cost".

B. VILLAGE LEVEL

On the basis of attitudes expressed by the interviewed households, a number of problems were identified as confronting the village before its destruction. These should be addressed in future reconstruction efforts. The problems are related to the inadequacy of educational and social facilities, inadequacy of water supply, lack of support and a qualified protection for agriculture production, and the compact nature of the village (access, roads) (Table 8.27). "It is an opportunity for a better society which avoids the problems of the past and responds to future development".

Issues	No. of Times Mentioned
* Planning: access, roads, square	33
* Infrastructure especially water supply	29
* Facilities: social, educational	23
* Agriculture support	19

Table 8.27: Issues Concerning Reconstruction on Village Level Emerging from Survey.

Villagers expressed a strong desire for a better planned and more orderly pattern of physical development for their village. The expression "houses were too close to each other" was frequently repeated; especially around the centre of the village as this did not allow sufficient privacy. Some villagers suggested expropriation of parts of some plots in order to improve road networks (public versus individual), but compensation should be paid to the households concerned. These are the main problems which have been pointed out by the households as being the most urgent and important.

Other points which emerged during discussion are related to the issue of character such as appearance and image. It was particularly difficult for people to describe these images; the solution was to ask people about how they would like their village to be. Therefore, people were asked to mention one of the surrounding villages which they would prefer their village to look like. Two examples came out, and they are Dalhoun and Deir al-Qamar: the former because its houses are separated and the latter because it still preserves traditional features in its dwellings. On the other hand, many households were not able or willing to give their opinions about the village reconstruction; this is related to issues of fear and future support. Therefore, respondents limited their answers saying that they wanted their village to be as it was before destruction. This attitude could also be that people simply wanted the conditions prevailing before destruction which were by far better than the present unsettled situation.

8.5.2 ROLES

This part of the survey was concerned with the people's perception of the roles of the different actors in the reconstruction process: ie. individual households, the village committee and the government.

A. INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Concerning actions and involvement at the individual household level, the enthusiasm for self-build projects would not be overwhelming as this was not the case before the destruction of the village. Despite people's willingness to do their best within the limits of their capabilities, involvement would be concerned with controlling the process of their dwellings. This process, already described, could be improved with technical and financial support in order to avoid potential problems, and to ease constraints and difficulties. People's willingness to start rebuilding is conditional upon the emergence of peace and certainty. These issues are very important incentives for people to re-invest in the reconstruction of their dwellings. The survey findings are summarized in Table 8.28.

Issues	No of Times Mentioned
* Controlling the process of rebuilding: planning & design, supervision	24
* Doing the best in terms of: finance, labour works	11
* No answer	6

Table 8.28: Role of Individual Households as Seen by the People Themselves.

B. COMMUNITY LEVEL

At the community level, many households recognized an important role for the village committee. It is best described as a link between the village community and the official body. However this role of the committee was not accepted blindly by the majority of households. Some have shown reservations due to the problems of conflict of interests between the different families (relation between kinship groups), and the risk of concentrating authority in certain "well-known and influential families". They asked for fair and equal access to resources and decisions. Most of the responsibilities mentioned by the people concerning the actions at community level are of common interest. Many mentioned that communal things: "infrastructure and public buildings are nobody's responsibility and not the immediate interest of households". The managerial role of the committee involves design and planning of the village especially issues relating to road network improvement and solving disputes over land boundaries. Skills and expertise available in the village should be utilized during reconstruction to generate work within the community. Despite this managerial role of the committee, the majority of households recognize that the cornerstone in reconstructing the village is the full cooperation of its members; the two religious groups and the different family factions (Table 8.29). Cooperation should be based on symbiosis and brotherhood; people recognized the crisis as "a social catastrophe deeper than the physical damages".

Issues	No of Times Mentioned
* Cooperation	27
* Management, Design, Planning	24
* Employing available Skills	12
* No Answer	8

Table 8.29: Role of Village Committee as Seen by the People Themselves.

C. GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL

The government's involvement in reconstruction should concentrate on the communal facilities which could benefit everybody. People emphasized fair and equal access to resources. However, no subsidy is needed because of the potential danger of conflict and disagreement especially for the people who already started rebuilding. Lack of clarity and expectations could be major drawbacks to reconstruction. People were aware that reconstruction should be more than physical and ought to be wide-ranging: from social to economic reconstruction. It is recognized that "the disaster is an opportunity for a better society". However, from the data (Table 8.30) one would expect that if these issues are addressed in a future reconstruction programme, the people will be more interested and motivated in contributing to the reconstruction of their village. It is clear that the highest priorities of the people focused on the improvement and provision of infrastructure and public facilities.

Issues	No. of Times Mentioned
* Infrastructure	32
* Public buildings	28
* Assistance: loan, technical	23
* Providing job opportunities	15

Table 8.30: Role of Government as Seen by the People Themselves.

8.5.3 RESUME OF RECONSTRUCTION

Figure 8.20 summarizes the major points highlighted during the analysis of the data on reconstruction. It categorizes the information into three major areas: re-built environment, issues and actors' roles. It also establishes relationships between these categories built on the evidence given by the people.

8.6 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with four major areas which constituted the skeleton of the semi-structured interview used during the survey; these areas are:

- Socio-economic characteristics of households.
- Building process of the original dwelling in al-Burjain before destruction.
- Present housing situation in ad-Debbieh, the place of refuge.
- Reconstruction issues related to physical aspects and roles of the different actors: households, committee and government.

A resume followed each of these areas which summarized the results emerging from the analysis. It established relationships between these results by focussing on issues, problems, opportunities and constraints. Some of the broad results could be recapitulated as follows:

- High degree of change in the socio-economic conditions as opposed to traditional rural ways of life.
- People's control over the building process as opposed to public centralized housing.
- People's high ability to deal with the homelessness problem as opposed to the idea of victims' helplessness.
- Wider concept of reconstruction (development, economic, social) as opposed to physical reconstruction only of top-down approaches.

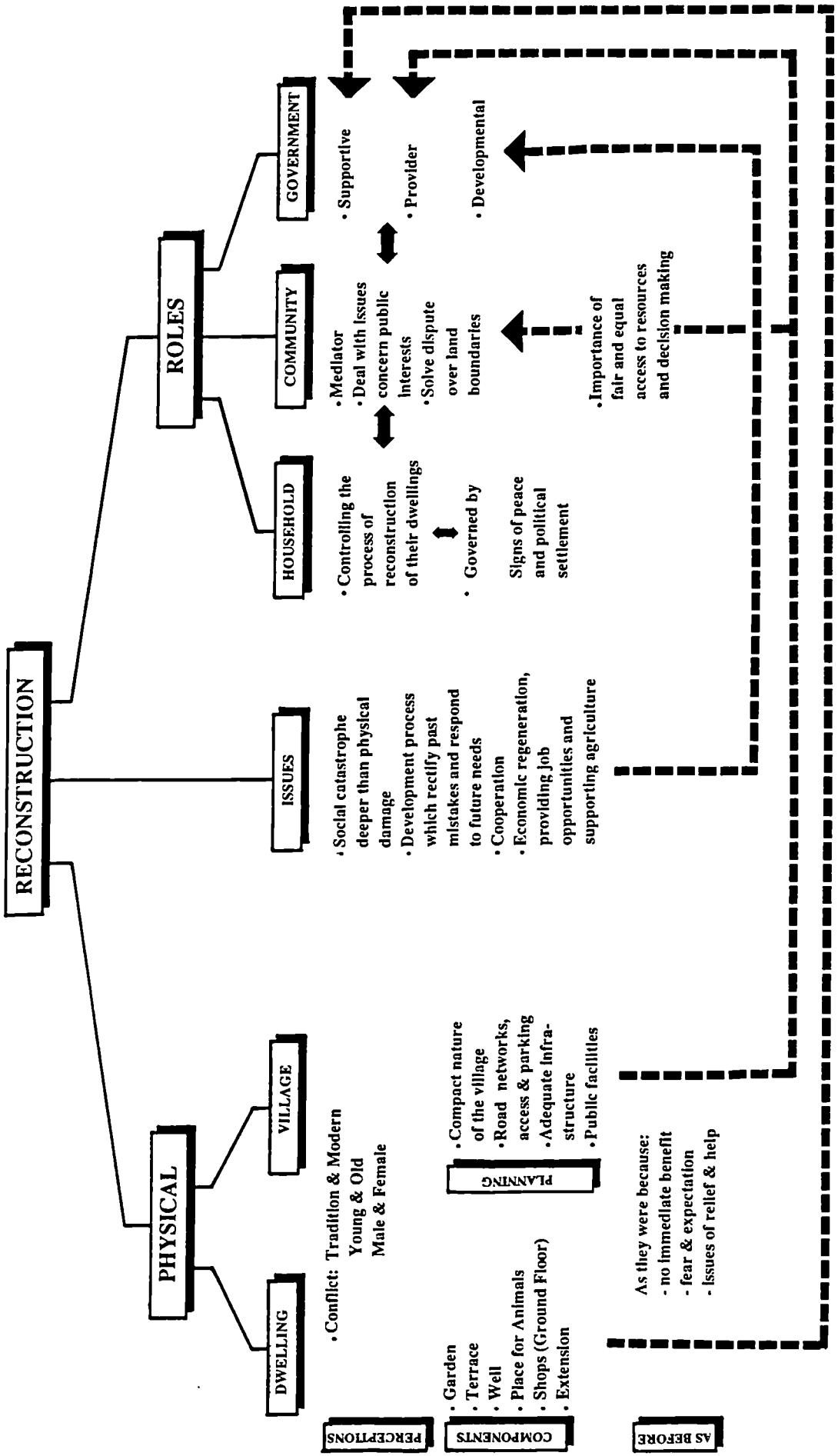


Fig. 8.20: Reconstruction: Physical, Issues and Roles.

NOTES

[1] **Number of times moved:** the total number of times moved by the households (141 times) is expected to increase by 31 times representing the final movements, to al-Burjain, of the 31 households who are still living in ad-Debbieh.

[2] **Material loss:** in a newspaper report (As-Safir, 4/5/1985), a women describes her crisis, after returning to the damaged village: "we lost everything, my furniture and my jewellery and my daughters' jewellery ... I was baking when I heard shooting, I ran ... and brought my daughters, I forgot the identity cards, the daughters' jewellery, mine was on my hand ... We escaped in the dark, we walked for so long to reach Sh-him where we lived in the laboratory ... I lost my source of income and I was forced to sell my jewellery later".

[3] **Household size:** the increase of household size from 5.5, as mentioned in Chapter 7 to 8.35 per household could be explained in two ways. Firstly, 5.5 per household could be based on counting only nuclear families (newspaper report). Secondly, after the crisis more nuclear related families are housed together in the same dwelling.

[4] **Minimum wages:** at the time of the survey (1990), minimum monthly wages were about LL45,000 (£1 = LL1200). Therefore it was felt that figures given by the people (LL7000 and LL9000) were unrealistically low.

[5] **Similarity of dwellings:** Physical characteristics of the dwelling in al-Burjain, described by the people, could be easily observed in ad-Debbieh. This could be explained by:
- the proximity of the two villages,
- the similarity of the building process not only in these two villages but in most rural areas.

[6] **Permits & regulations:** These have been more ignored with the diminishing power of the central government, since 1975, which was transferred to various militia groups.

[7] **No answer (land acquisition):** in this case, the interviewees were children and they were not sure how the land were acquired. However, from the dominant pattern within the community, it is expected that land was acquired by inheritance in most of these cases.

[8] **No answer (design considerations):** in this case, interviewees were the children (young) who did not participate in the building process as they were born after the erection of the houses.

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CHAPTER NINE:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes the study by concentrating on different interrelated points. The first point discusses the summaries which emerged from the different chapters. It aims to identify principles and issues which can guide reconstruction of war-damaged villages in Lebanon. The second point translates these principles and issues into practical recommendations or guide-lines for the reconstruction of al-Burjain; the village case study of the research. The Third point draws an analytical framework, developed out of the study, which can be used in similar cases of damaged villages in Lebanon. The fourth point establishes theoretical perspectives for the topic of post-war reconstruction which come at the end of the study because of its qualitative nature. This is followed by a list for further research which could complement the present study.

9.2 DISCUSSION OF SUMMARIES

After Chapter One which is the introduction to the study, Chapter Two has probed the theoretical and conceptual understanding of disaster and reconstruction. It was demonstrated that disaster is a complex phenomenon which inflicts losses on people and the environment (both natural and built). This creates disruption to social, economic and political conditions which can be encountered on different levels: individual, organizational, societal, and community. Despite the similar features of disasters, every disaster is unique in terms of local conditions, level of development of the country and degree of severity of the hazard.

However, the complexity and uniqueness of disaster have not been considered in most reconstruction programmes. Both governments and relief organizations have concentrated their efforts and resources on the urgency of rehousing the victims. Technological aspects,

speed and number of housing units built have been the major concerns. No attempts have been made to analyse the pre-disaster conditions of the victims. Also no clear perspective has been drawn about the future implications of reconstruction programmes on the affected community.

The common mistakes of these top-down approaches to reconstruction were classified into five major interrelated areas:

- lack of understanding disaster as a phenomenon in terms of characteristics, effects, victims' response and recovery process;
- marginalization of the victims;
- simplification of housing issues;
- inadequate relief and aid; and
- inadequate assessment of victims needs.

Negative outcomes of top-down approaches in post-disaster reconstruction are multiple. The most important are:

- inhibiting people's recovery process, increasing their dependency and raising their expectations unrealistically;
- wasting of scarce resources and the opportunity for improvements;
- producing alien housing units and settlement layouts which do not respond to people's needs and aspirations; and
- generating negative impacts on the social, economic and cultural conditions of the victims.

Chapter Three has examined two cases of reconstruction after disaster. The first case of Algeria is an illustration of a top-down approach which concentrated on rapid reconstruction by employing prefabrication technology. Despite the adequate resources and the rationality of the programme, the reconstruction has had many shortcomings on socio-economic, cultural and physical levels, in contrast to the objectives of the

reconstruction programme. Migration has been encouraged to the area; people have been facing problems in the new prefab dwellings in terms of privacy, maintenance, comfort, space arrangements, appearance of the dwelling, etc.; dwellings have been made vulnerable to earthquake through modifications and alterations by residents; and economic and social difficulties have been created in addition to raising people's expectations and dependency.

The second case of Iran is more orientated towards participatory and developmental issues. However, it was demonstrated that the advocacy of theoretical concepts such as peoples' participation, use of local materials and economic development should go beyond the conceptual realization of these issues. It should be transferred into practical and effective application during reconstruction. It should involve changes in perceptions and practices and should develop an adequate mechanism in planning, management and implementation to allow for the appropriate application of these grass-root concepts.

Both cases have illustrated how the common mistakes and negative outcomes of reconstruction after disaster are manifested in reality. While both cases have advocated different approaches to reconstruction, they have wasted the opportunity to resolve basic problems. In some aspects, they even represent the imposition of new obstacles.

The outcomes of Chapters Two and Three are that the success of reconstruction after disaster depends on many factors in order to achieve optimal and desirable results. These factors are now developed and summarized into three fundamental principles which could be a guide for the reconstruction in Lebanon:

PRINCIPLE 1: **Reconstruction after disaster should be considered in the wider context of development and as a vehicle for improvements.**

This includes the following issues:

- the use and maximization of available resources both material and human;
- economic regeneration and creation of job opportunities;

- stimulation of activities in various sectors: social and health services, infrastructure and communications; and
- understanding of the pre-disaster situation in order to solve existing problems and to improve local conditions.

PRINCIPLE 2: Reconstruction should enhance appropriately the victims' participation in shaping their settlements.

This is an important factor in order to:

- capitalize on the social coping mechanisms which exist within the affected community;
- reduce dependency, subsidy and rising expectations;
- assess adequately people's needs and aspirations;
- facilitate cooperative and individual actions; and
- establish good working relationships between professionals and the community.

PRINCIPLE 3: Reconstruction should be tailored according to local conditions and people's needs.

This could be achieved by:

- respecting people's culture: norms, tradition, customs, ways of life, social patterns and economic means;
- paying detailed attention to physical aspects of the settlement: layouts, climate, topography, natural resources, etc; and
- understanding the established pre-disaster housing mechanism such as: deals, market conditions, flow of resources, social organisation, building codes (invisible structure), as well as space arrangements, housing layouts, construction methods (visible structure).

Chapters Two and Three have paved the way to the third part of the research which concentrates on the reconstruction of war-damaged villages in Lebanon. Chapter Four focused on the social, economic, and political conditions of Lebanon and aimed to

understand the national context in which the disaster has taken place. This has been influenced by the fact that reconstruction of the village is an issue which goes beyond its boundaries. It is not an isolated entity by itself because it interacts with other areas through different channels: communications, road networks, economic exchanges, and administrative and political structures. This could be developed in the following principle:

PRINCIPLE 4: For planning reconstruction in a specific locality, it is essential to gain insights into the national context in which a disaster has taken place.

It is an approach to make the best use of available resources which are controlled by outside factors such as: legislation, economic conditions, institutional structure, general housing conditions and existing government policies.

In the case of Lebanon, a modernization process has been underway affecting its socio-economic and political conditions. Rapid urbanisation, laissez-faire economy, survival of primordial ties (strong family ties, communal traditional loyalties, etc.), centralised administration and sectarian political system are the major characteristics of these conditions. In such a socio-economic and political atmosphere the following issues, which must be taken into account when formulating reconstruction programmes, have emerged concerning housing, reconstruction and policy trends.

ISSUE 1: Housing Market: Mechanisms and Conditions.

In Lebanon, the housing market is controlled by a private speculative sector. This is coupled with government's weak executive power in planning and building codes which are apt to be violated in a system propelled by market forces, rank, patronage and sectarian considerations. The result is a severe distortion of the market with mismatches between supply and demand.

Difficult housing conditions which prevailed prior to the war have been intensified by the conflict due to destruction, segregation of communities, desertion of unsafe areas and the attendant economic constraints.

ISSUE 2: Centralisation.

A centralised economic and political system combined with the lack of rural development projects and comprehensive housing policy have encouraged massive rural migration to urban centres; especially to Beirut. Hence, a rapid process of urbanisation, acute housing problems, and deterioration of rural conditions were the outcomes of the centralised system.

In terms of reconstruction, the following issues also have been highlighted in the final part of Chapter Four:

ISSUE 3: Existing Institutions for Reconstruction.

A Council for Development and Reconstruction has been empowered with the overall reconstruction and development plan in Lebanon. It is considered a positive step to overcome the bureaucratic conditions of the centralised administrative system of Lebanon.

ISSUE 4: Resources Constraints.

Constraints on reconstruction are enormous such as lack of financial resources and trained manpower, and the need for an effective and dynamic cooperation between the different administrative units in term of planning, social affairs, infrastructure, etc.

ISSUE 5: Conflicting Demands.

In the case of Lebanon, a variety of conflicting demands have been highlighted which should comprehensively be examined in future reconstruction plans. This will be necessary to ensure:

- a balance between rural-urban reconstruction;
- a balance between the different facets of reconstruction: physical, economic, administrative, social, military, etc;
- a change in government attitudes and practices towards housing and reconstruction;
- an appropriate development of planning mechanisms and decentralization systems in a country which suffers from bureaucracy, divisions and segregation; and
- an equal and fair access to resources by the different communities, in order to lessen conflict and envy between them. This is an important issue in a country where clientelism and sectarianism have been very influential.

Chapter Five analysed the Lebanese village and its process of development (traditional and transitional stages); the historical perspective is vital in order to reflect on future reconstruction. Gaining insights into the development stages of the Lebanese village is an approach to provide an organic link between past, present and future.

Traditionally, the Lebanese village has been a clear manifestation of the socio-economic conditions of the people. On the village level, the layouts of the village have manifested the social structure and organization of the community. On the household level, the dwelling has been a clear expression of the real needs of the people. Hence a strong sense of belonging, between people and their village has been naturally established.

Examining the traditional stage of the Lebanese village highlighted important issues which could provide valuable lessons and inspiration for future reconstruction. However, this is not a nostalgic call for a blind copy of tradition: social and economic conditions have been under transformations and changes as a result of the modernization process which began at the end of the 19th century and intensified after independence (1943). Thus, new needs and requirements, contrary to the traditional ones, should be taken in the reconstruction programme.

> ... during the course of time not only are the buildings themselves transformed but their meanings and uses may also change ... in architecture the relationship between space and time is a dialectical process between building form and social factors, between continuity and change, between permanence and flexibility.
>
> (Lawrence, 1987: 31)

However, important issues could be derived from the traditional village which reflects hundreds of years of accumulated experiences on how to employ what is locally available to meet people's needs. Understanding and expending the potential of this tradition to meet contemporary needs could enable reconstruction to be more appropriate and acceptable to the majority of the people. The issues from traditional architecture, which could be developed in future reconstruction are:

ISSUES 6: Core Elements of the Culture.

The core and relatively invariant elements of the culture which play a major role in shaping the physical and social structures of the Lebanese village are: kinship, attachment to land, mutual aid and co-operation, and the authority of elders.

ISSUES 7: The Traditional Architecture: Process and Lessons.

The indigenous process of building responded effectively to people's needs in socio-economic, cultural, physical and environmental terms. This response has manifested clearly on planning and dwelling levels. The traditional architecture provides guide-lines to deal with climatic aspects in terms of orientation, shape, opening sizes, materials, construction techniques, etc. Furthermore, traditional buildings provide vocabularies and references for reconstruction in terms of forms, plans, and architectural elements. These buildings also provide examples in terms of scale and proportion, harmony and contrast, open and closed spaces, etc.

However the traditional isolated villages have been under a transformation process because of modernization and increased communications between rural and urban areas. Therefore, it is imperative to understand these changes and their degrees in order to plan for future reconstruction. These ideas are expanded in the second stage of the development of Lebanese village; from independence till the outbreak of the war.

The Lebanese village has been under a continuous process of change which manifests itself on many levels: physical, social, economic and cultural. During this process, adjustments and adaptations have been made from the traditional model, but not without problems and difficulties.

On the physical level, the village layout and the dwelling unit have been altered and modified. Modern buildings have been introduced with the socio-economic changes. New arrangement of spaces have been made with the introduction of new facilities. New forms have been developed with the increased contact with urban centres. Despite these changes and modifications, the built environment has retained certain traditional characters. This means that the Lebanese village has been in a transitional stage between traditional and modern. Murr (1987) describes it as "an old culture in a new era". The main issues which come out of this chapter are:

ISSUE 8: The Process of Change in the Lebanese Village.

A process of change has been underway in the Lebanese village affecting its social, economic, cultural and physical structures. This process does not resolve itself into neat polarities of material and non-material aspects because these two aspects interact and overlap. However, changes are expressed more in the material aspects of a culture than in non-material ones. Furthermore, the process of change does not completely eradicate the core traditional elements of the culture. This means a duality in the cultural pattern has emerged: modern and traditional, old and new, local and national.

ISSUE 9: Problems Associated with the Process of Change.

These problems could be classified in the following areas:

- Economic: lack of rural development programmes to support the agriculture sector has encouraged rural-urban migration. However, people have retained a strong contact with their native villages.
- Political: relations between rural areas and central government have not been based on mutual trust and defined positions. These relations are coloured with resentment and suspicion.
- Social: changes and transformations have generated conflict in values: young versus old, modern versus traditional, localism versus nationalism. They have also generated different social stratifications based on the level of education and type of job compared to family background and plots of land owned.

The third stage focused on the war period in order to identify the issues and the problems which arose from displacement and the possibility of the displaced people to return to their village. This was mainly accomplished by a detailed village case study (al-Burjain). The case study also provides a detail examination of the pre-war situation in terms of problems, ways of life and the building process, etc. This stage emphasises the people's resources and their ability to contribute to the reconstruction programme. It takes into account the people's views and aspirations concerning the future reconstruction of their village.

Before probing into the outcomes of the fieldwork, the methods of the research which were presented in Chapter Six will be briefly discussed. It has been demonstrated that valuable insights can be gained by detailed discussions with the affected community. This approach allows for a deep and rich understanding of the people and their built environment. It identifies and interprets issues by interactive and dynamic discussions with the people themselves instead of imposing or influencing their responses according to a rigid form of questionnaire. Three field research methods were employed to gain insights

into the conditions of al-Burjain: (1) discussions with key figures, (2) in-depth family case histories, and (3) survey employing semi-structured interviews. The insights and the details obtained from the fieldwork have proved the effectiveness and flexibility of such a qualitative approach.

PRINCIPLE 5: **Planning for reconstruction should be based on a detailed and clear understanding of the local conditions; this requires sensitivity, patience and the ability to listen to the affected community.**

The methodological approach is based on:

- familiarisation with the local conditions;
- gaining people's trust and confidence;
- ability to observe, to discuss and to analyse; and
- acquiring deep understanding of problems, constraints, opportunities, alternatives, and issues.

9.3 THE VILLAGE CASE STUDY: AL-BURJAIN

Chapters Seven and Eight focused on the reconstruction issue of al-Burjain. Chapter seven provided an overview of the case study including historical, social, economic, and physical aspects. This was followed by three in-depth family case histories identified in accordance with their present housing conditions and their reconstruction activities. Information collected from the family history was presented in terms of socio-economic conditions, housing conditions before and after the war, and people's perceptions concerning the reconstruction of their village. The major points and issues discussed have been presented in two synoptical Tables (7.6 & 7.7).

Chapter Eight has determined the commonality of patterns of the major points and issues identified from the analysis of the previous two stages of the fieldwork. The analysis has followed the same categories for presenting the data and information: socio-economic, housing conditions before and after the disaster, and the people's perceptions about reconstruction have been discussed and presented in Table 8...

The village provides a vivid example of the impact of the modernization process on the various aspects of life. The nuclear family has come to replace the extended one. Urban employment has overshadowed agriculture activities. And in term of social stratification, Level of education and type of occupation have gained importance in addition to family background and plots of land owned. However, the change has not completely eroded traditional values, norms and ways of life. The change has been greater in the material aspects of the culture when convenience has been higher and when the change does not jeopardize the security of the people (refer to Chapter 5).

Briefly, some of the major findings of these two chapters, which should be taken into account in future reconstruction, can be recapitulated in the following issues:

ISSUE 10: People's Housing Process.

People in the pre-war period were able to provide housing which was tailored according to their economic and social needs. Hence a high degree of satisfaction was achieved. However the process of building was something in between traditional and modern due to the modernization process which was influencing every aspects of village life. As a result the final product exhibited traditional and modern elements.

ISSUE 11: Social Coping Mechanisms.

After displacement people have demonstrated the effectiveness of their social mechanisms in providing shelter and support by capitalising on different networks: savings, relatives and friends, and existing housing stock. In terms of survival people have shown their

ability to organize themselves and to negotiate with leaders from the area for their benefit. However the people are facing many problems in terms of infrastructure, dwelling size and the psychological effects of the conflict. Additionally, people have shown a strong attachment to their original village.

ISSUE 12: Roles and Conflicting Factors.

People are willing to contribute to the reconstruction programme of their village. The village committee's role could be in arranging with intervenors planning aspects on the village level. This involves amenities which are commonly used such as public buildings and infrastructure. This will respond to the people's expressed needs that support should concentrate on public amenities which benefit everybody. On the individual level, people are willing to participate in the reconstruction of their houses, but this does not imply direct construction activities. People need support (soft loans and technical advice) to speed the rebuilding of their houses . In this sense, subsidy is not considered the most appropriate approach, but rather fair and equal access to resources and decision making to reduce potential conflicts. This is a very important issue in a community which was shattered by the war and which was divided into two groups according to religious affiliation. Undeniably the results of the fieldwork have amply demonstrated the complexity and multifaceted nature of reconstruction.

9.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AL-BURJAIN

In the light of the discussion of summaries and findings of the fieldwork, a set of recommendations are proposed for the reconstruction of al-Burjain. It is a translation of the principles and issues into a practical set for actions. This will be done in different areas and on different levels. All the recommendations below are given as possible avenues for actions which are applicable to the case of al-Burjain. These recommendations aim to

generate real progress toward the improvement of living conditions of the victims, by being realistic and implementable, and by taking into account the limitations and interests of all the participants involved in the reconstruction process.

These recommendations are a response to the research question identified in the preamble: **How could the re-built environment be best tailored to the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the community in order to speed its recovery and contribute to its development?** To answer this question, several subject areas require action during the reconstruction of al-Burjain. These areas address governmental and non-governmental institutions, political parties, charitable organizations, citizens groups, community organizations and all who are seeking a better understanding for meaningful reconstruction. These subject areas and their related recommendations are categorised as follows:

A. PLANNING FOR A COMPREHENSIVE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME:

Recommendation 1: Clear Allocation of Participants' Roles.

The success of a reconstruction programme depends to a great extent on clear allocation of roles and responsibilities of the different parties involved. This can speed recovery, reduce conflict and duplication of tasks, and maximize the use of available resources. In the case of al-Burjain however, households can deal with the reconstruction of their own houses; the village committee concentrates on issues related to the village and its role is seen as a link between the community and the official body; and the government focuses on the reconstruction of communal amenities (public buildings, infrastructure, etc.).

Recommendation 2: Capitalize on the Social Coping Mechanisms.

During the crisis, the community has shown a high degree of self reliance in providing relief and shelter through different social mechanisms (savings, social networks, existing housing stock, etc.). In this respect the family, as a socio-economic unit, could play an

effective role during reconstruction if provided with the appropriate support (soft loans and technical advice) Furthermore, the fieldwork has shown many positive aspects which should be capitalised upon during reconstruction: the multiplicity of sources of income of households; the human resources available within the community (architects, teachers, doctors, etc.); and the established housing process.

Recommendation 3: Encourage People to Return to their Village.

Households living outside the village are facing many problems in terms of homelessness, difficult socio-economic conditions, lack of incentives for improvement, etc. However, these people have shown a strong and genuine attachment towards their village and homes which relate to memories, ancestors, roots, continuity, economic interests, social environment, etc. By capitalizing on these sentiments in the reconstruction programme, people could be encouraged to return to their village if they were provided with adequate support and shelter. However, this could be done in different ways either by encouraging households already returned to the village to house their relatives or by supporting displaced families to built a minimum structure of their damaged dwellings (one or two rooms) to shelter themselves.

Recommendation 4: Careful Consideration of the Local Conditions.

The examination of socio-economic and cultural conditions of the village has shown the extent of changes and transformations taking place in the village due to modernization processes; it is in a transitional stage which exhibits traditional and modern elements. Therefore, reconstruction should carefully consider the various conflicting forces emerging from this situation: old versus new, old versus young, local versus national. Reconstruction should conserve the positive traditional elements and responds to modern requirements. In fact, the skills of sociologists and anthropologists could be critical for recommending adjustments appropriate to the exigencies of reality and the demands of the situation.

Recommendation 5: Enhance Social Reconstruction and Prevent Potential Conflicts.

Symbiosis, co-operation and mutual aid are embodied characteristics in the culture of the community. Therefore reconstruction should encourage these positive characters. In this respect, the village committee could play a major role in healing the sectarian cleavage created within the community by the war. This requires fair and equal access by all members of the community to resources and decision making. Therefore, no direct subsidy is needed given the socio-economic conditions of the community, but support should be provided through soft loans and professional advice. The committee of the village should be restructured in a way to represent the two sects (Muslim and Christian) and the different family groups. Its role could be influential in reflecting different views concerning the planning of the village and communal amenities, solving problems related to property boundaries, and preventing the ignition of potential conflicts.

B. IMPROVING PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF THE VILLAGE.

Recommendation 6: Planning for Adequate Infrastructure.

From the analysis of the fieldwork, water supply is a major problem facing the community. As a solution, the supply could be improved by providing adequate communal wells which can feed existing individual ones as well as providing water for irrigation. However, this is not a simple task because there is a risk of contamination from pit latrines due to the compact nature of the village and technical mistakes. This requires planning for appropriate water supply networks and providing technical advice to people when building pit latrines to avoid transmitted diseases. Another aspect could improve the living conditions in the village is the provision of an appropriate system of rubbish collection and treatment to avoid public health hazards and aesthetic problems. In this respect, with appropriate technical support the village committee could play an important role in organizing these matter. This could be done by encouraging individual households to dump their rubbish in specified places for treatment by a system adequate to rural life and perhaps produce fertilizers for agriculture (income generation for the village) (Cairncross & Feachem, 1983; 173-180).

Recommendation 7: Improving the Physical Structure of the Village.

The compact nature of the village and access to houses have been highlighted as major problems facing the community. An approach to address these problems should be based on meticulous considerations of the existing physical structure which reflects the social organization and established land ownership patterns. In some cases, land may need to be expropriated, for the public benefit, to improve access and road networks. This could be arranged with the households involved for which a type of compensation should be arranged. In this respect direct subsidy by the government is needed to deal with the issue of compensation. The village committee with the professionals could play a major role in re-planning of the village; it is a process which needs a high level of skill in negotiation and knowledge of local conditions. However, a territory survey for the village is important in order to determine private property, to plan for removal of the debris, and to indicate the necessary improvements; it is a surgical process.

C. SUPPORTING PEOPLE TO REBUILD THEIR HOUSES.

Recommendation 8: Providing Adequate Resources and Technical advice.

Providing support should not be understood in the sense of subsidy and building houses for people, because of the risk of raising people's dependency and potential conflicts. Providing resources and advice at the right time should be seen as a means to support people doing things for themselves, to accelerate their recovery process and introduce appropriate changes and improvements. In the case of al-Burjain, this could be achieved by providing the households with appropriate access to soft loans and technical advice. Soft loans can be helpful in accelerating the reconstruction of damaged buildings, maximizing the use of resources, avoiding subsidy, preventing potential conflicts and raising people's expectations unrealistically. Technical advice is important to solve some of the issues related to infrastructure (pit latrines and wells), construction methods, and design weaknesses and problems. However, disadvantaged groups (widows, old people, disabled) should be provided with more resources and in some cases with direct involvement to rebuild their houses because of their circumstances.

Recommendation 9: Capitalise on People's Resources and the Established Housing Process.

Before the destruction of the village, people have shown a high degree of control over the construction process of their dwellings which was tailored according to their needs and resources; it is an incremental autonomous process but had to confront many constraints (refer to Fig. 8.). However, the process could be accelerated and improved by providing adequate support (soft loans, technical advice). Professional advice could help individual households to address issues such as: space arrangements, construction problems, future extension, and issues related to orientation and location considerations. Professional involvement requires a clear understanding of the complexity of the local housing process in order to advise individual households at key points of the process. The professional role should be seen as enabling rather than imposing and directing. This role should also involve the development of designs based on traditional architecture to be used during reconstruction as people have shown a clear preference for traditional elements and characters (arches, red tiles, stones, outdoor space, etc.). However this is not a simple undertaking because it needs to be associated with an appropriate programme to address the issues of skills, availability and cost.

Recommendation 10: Encourage People to Salvage Materials from their Damaged Dwellings.

In order to reduce the financial burden on the people, certain materials salvaged from the damaged dwellings can be reused during reconstruction. The community has already shown a positive sign concerning this issue, but this could be maximized by technical advice and by providing appropriate training to some unemployed people from the village to carry this job. In addition, these people can be trained in building construction to provide them with job opportunities during the reconstruction programme.

D. PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND ECONOMIC REGENERATION.

Recommendation 11: Improve the Economic Conditions of the Community.

In addition to the sources of income generation already discussed, economic reconstruction is essential for speeding recovery and improving conditions of the community. Despite the employment structure of the community which is mainly oriented towards salaried urban jobs, adjustments and development of new areas of work related to rural priorities are needed. These areas can serve as means to control rural-urban migration, as well as furnishing the ground for the organization of a long-range programme of economic development for the village community. First comes developing the agriculture sector which involves irrigation projects, improving practices and marketing facilities, and providing fertilizer at affordable prices. Second is developing small scale industries: dairy products, conserving fruit, presses (olive, carob), local crafts, and small scale building industries (concrete blocks, tiles, doors, etc.). All these can provide potential job opportunities for the community if provided with appropriate planning in order to establish the exact relationships between agriculture and food industry, between building industry and reconstruction.

Recommendation 12: Development of a Rural Education Programme which Responds to the Real Needs of Rural Life.

On the basis of the above recommendation, public education based on a highly centralised curriculum does not respond to the real needs of village life. Even the available vocational rural education has been confined to very few limited agricultural schools around the country. Young educated people have been driven to urban centres seeking employment and opportunities. In one way they are attached to their homes in another they are pushed away by aspirations and motivations. They do not belong to either area and they have been referred to as "urban villagers". For education to be effective and meaningful, it has to be directed toward a goal. The village needs an education system which fits rural youth

for the proper type of occupations appropriate to their immediate environment, not the type of education that pushes them away from the village. The village needs an education system built around centres of interests related directly to village life, such as home life, health, economy, and general culture. It should be based on direct observation of the environment, on experimentation, on projects more than abstraction and theories. It should initiate a new spirit of development and welfare based on scientific and systematic knowledge. The same principles apply to vocational education. The village needs a school which will teach the skills and crafts which are needed by the villages. It has to be centred around meaningful areas of interest such as nutrition, better housing, environment, group cooperation, agriculture, handicrafts, and construction.

These recommendations are wide ranging and cover economic, social, physical and organisational issues. It is a development process which goes beyond mere standardized housing provision into a process of social, economic and physical reconstruction. The recommendations aim at improving conditions, developing reconstruction priorities according to the real needs of the victims, encouraging people to rely and capitalise on their initiatives and resources. This could be achieved provided adequate support and advice; it is an intervention that aims to plant the seeds.

9.5 AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RECONSTRUCTION

This part brings together the various aspects and stages discussed in this research in order to draw an analytical framework which can be adapted and replicated to study reconstruction of other war-damaged villages in Lebanon. It will also serve as a cross-reference system or a guide for those concerned with the reconstruction of small damaged settlements in similar situations.

The framework focuses on physical, social, economic and cultural issues as well as housing process before and after destruction of a damaged-village. Hence, it broadens out from concentrating only on physical aspects to non-physical ones. Each of these is further

divided to produce a more detailed checklist aiming at improving efficiency and intervention.

> A reconstruction housing program ... requires a broad understanding of housing, not simply in terms of the buildings, but as a process, consisting of a blend of labor, skills, capital, financing, settlement patterns, culture, status, environmental protection, and tradition.
>
> (Cuny, 1983: 197-198)

In terms of the damaged village, the framework focuses on the pre-disaster situation to identify the prevailing conditions in terms of problems, ways of life, building processes and potential for improvements. Understanding the pro-disaster situation concentrates on the changes which resulted from displacement and the new conditions of the people and their perceptions concerning the reconstruction of their village.

The framework has been concerned with the fact that reconstruction of a damaged settlement is a complex process of various interrelated aspects and issues. Hence, to be effective, the inputs should be carefully filtered through these entire aspects, issues and their relationships.

However, these aspects and issues have been discussed and evaluated with reference to three contexts. Each context has specific aims and objectives as has been explained in the discussion of summaries. The first context probes into the accumulated knowledge of reconstruction after disaster in terms of concepts and practical experiences. The purpose of this context is to gain insights of reconstruction after war disaster in terms of issues and their interrelations, common problems, lessons and experiences.

The second context is the national one. It is recognized that with the increased communications between urban and rural areas that villages, in many developed countries, are no longer isolated entities as traditionally they used to be. Nowadays decisions and policies taken in urban areas are affecting the distant villages. And rural areas are connected with urban areas by a variety of channels and networks.

The third context involves close examination of the developmental stages of the Lebanese village. These stages namely are: traditional and transitional. Understanding each stage has its own specific aim: the first stage (traditional) in order to draw lessons for reconstruction; and the second stage (transitional) to identify problems, conditions and opportunities which existed before the war.

The framework can be visually presented in (Fig. 9.1). However, this logical presentation does not imply a strictly chronological order, but rather follows a taxonomic structure. In this sense, the approach is flexible which means that collection of data and information can begin at any point of the framework; up to down, left to right or vice versa. It also allows for co-operation between different disciplines involved in reconstruction such as: architects, planners, engineers, social scientists. Therefore, the main objectives of the framework could be summarized as follows:

- to provide a coherent thematic framework for collecting data and information,
- to untangle the complexity of reconstruction after war disaster;
- to identify areas for co-operation and co-ordination between the people (affected community, professionals and politicians) involved in reconstruction;
- to enhance managerial practices of reconstruction by identifying tasks for actions, by avoiding repetitive activities, by maximizing the use of time and by retaining control.

The framework was motivated by the fact that reconstruction should be addressed not as solving urgent and immediate problems but as a process in which development is the major concern. Therefore, the appropriate and effective collection of data and its analysis will allow outsiders to take the right decisions for policy formulation, and to maximize the use of available resources. It also makes it possible to follow an appropriate route in between constraints and limitations, possibilities and opportunities. In this way, reconstruction could respond to the needs of the people, respect their culture and improve their conditions. It is a developmental process which capitalises on positive aspects and tries to rectify existing problems.

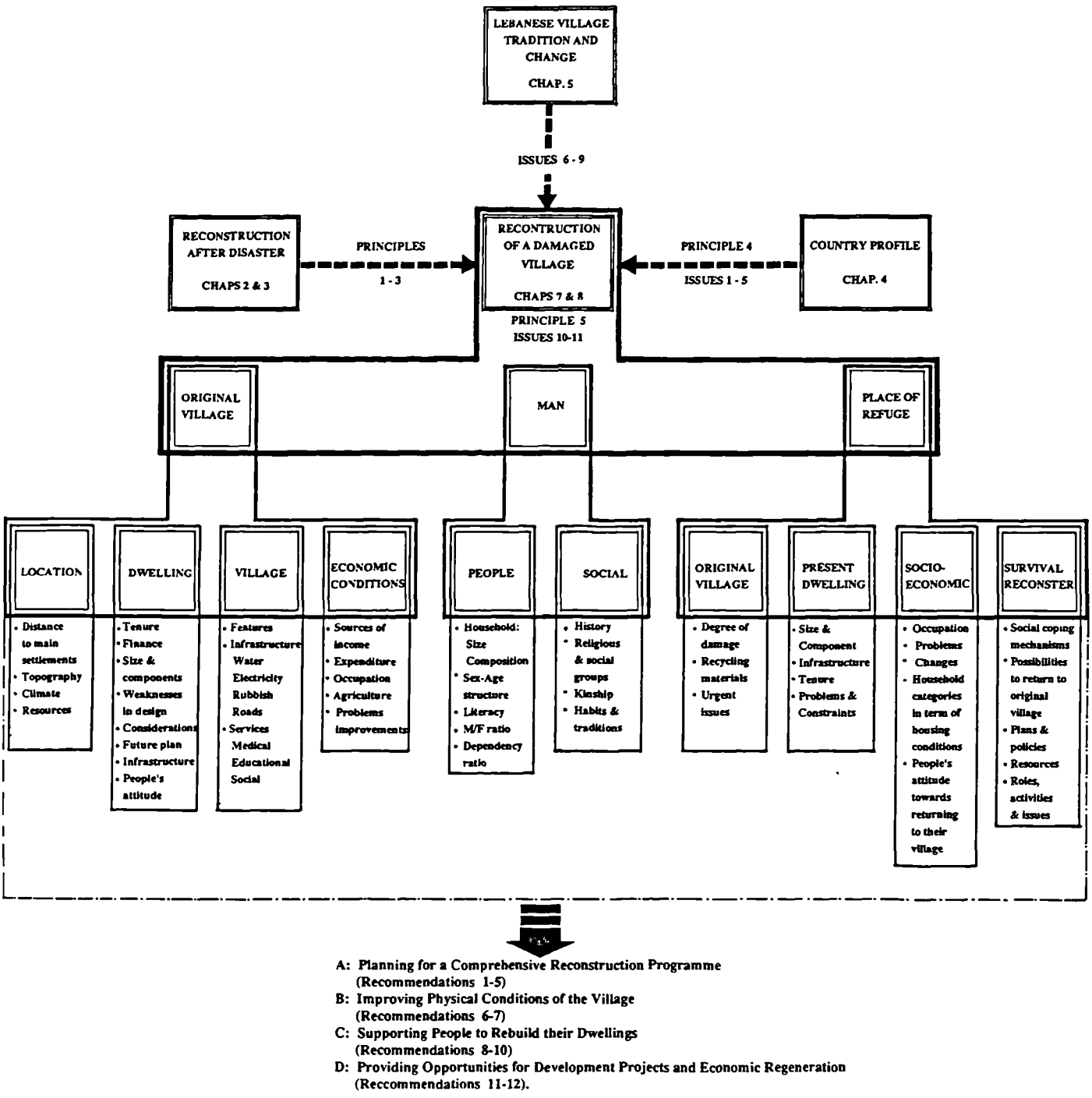

Fig. 9.1: An Analytical Framework for Reconstruction of War-Damaged Villages in Lebanon.

9.6 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

As explained in Chapter One, the theoretical perspectives of the research are to be developed at the end of the research due to its qualitative nature. It was also mentioned in Chapter Six, that generalization of a qualitative research is to the theory and not from the sample to the population. However, generalization could be achieved when the theory is tested through replication of the findings in similar situations.

Briefly, the research has clearly demonstrated both conceptually and practically that reconstruction after disaster is a complex process. The complexity arises from a variety of reasons. The first reason is that the production of the built environment, as a phenomenon, is a complex process of interaction between social, physical, economic, cultural, technological, political factors in addition to many others. The second reason is that the complexity of reconstruction is amplified with the urgency and confusion of the situation following a disaster, the need for mobilization of a huge amount of resources (human and material), and the political and international dimensions concerning the issues of aid and relief. The third reason is the need for a dynamic and interactive methodological approach in order to identify the needs of the victims and to provide a perspective of how professionals and people can co-operate in order to plan for comprehensive reconstruction. The fourth is that reconstruction after a disaster should be a route between many contradictions, limitations, problems, and possibilities.

The Lebanese case study has clearly illustrated the complexity of reconstruction by examining the pre and pro disaster conditions, by concentrating on physical and non-physical aspects, and by examining reconstruction in the context of the country and available knowledge of reconstruction after disaster (concepts and practices). It was demonstrated that an understanding of the complexity of reconstruction after a disaster will make it possible:

- to maximize the use of available resources;
- to capitalize on positive aspects and initiatives, as well as to improve negative ones;
- to identify an appropriate level of individual and communal participation;
- to reduce conflict and envy between groups in order to enhance social coherence;
- to respond to peoples needs and aspirations;
- to identify ways of communicating between professionals and people;
- to address and act on behalf of disadvantaged groups (widows, disabled, old);
- to link rural reconstruction projects to a long-term strategy for balanced urban and regional development; and
- to establish appropriate mechanisms for evaluation and feed back.

The importance of gaining insights into the complexity of these issues have been also highlighted during the discussion of the two cases of Algeria and Iran. Both cases have proved that reconstruction is not a simple undertaken. It requires adequate assessment, planning, design, and implementation. In each of these stages, many factors must be identified and comprehensively understood. The simple approach of building dwelling units (the case of Algeria) has shown how this approach wasted time, resources and opportunity. It did not succeed. Even in the case of Iran which inclined towards a participatory and development approach did not bear optimal results because of ignoring the complex nature of reconstruction as discussed in Chapter Three. Furthermore, the complexity and multi-dimension of reconstruction has been clearly demonstrated during the analysis of the Lebanese village case study. In this light:

the complexity of reconstruction after disaster requires a holistic and evolutionary approach to deal with the variety of aspects (physical and non-physical) of the damaged settlement. The complexity can be tackled when the route of reconstruction filters through these different aspects and their reciprocal relations. This will be achieved by a careful examination of the pre and pro disaster situations of the settlement in order to identify needs, issues, opportunities, difficulties and constraints.

In this sense, the approach should make it possible to capitalise on the victims' participation for meeting their own needs, to rectify existing problems for improving conditions, and to provide opportunities for enhancing the well being of the affected community. It is a developmental process in which adequate inputs into the built environments could help in economic regeneration, in providing opportunities for co-operation and integration within the affected community, in promoting socio-cultural identity, in providing a link between past, present and future and for establishing a sense of belonging to the REBUILT environment.

9.7 FURTHER RESEARCH

The issues related to reconstruction are wide and varied. This research is only one step; it has its objectives, specific aim and limitations. Hence, some issues lie beyond the scope of this study and require further investigation in order to draw a complete and detailed picture. A partial list of these topics, for reconstruction in Lebanon, could include:

- The conditions of displaced people of al-Burjain in East Beirut.
- Ways and methods for the development of Lebanese traditional architecture to be adaptable to the present day conditions (construction methods, forms, elements, etc.),
- Building industries in Lebanon: capacity, management, skills, problems and development of the traditional building sector.
- Institutional and administrative reconstruction required to be associated with bottom up approaches to reconstruction.
- Social and economic development of rural areas and their relationships with the national development plans.
- Case studies: the need for conducting similar types of fieldwork in other damaged villages in Lebanon. This will allow for testing the results of this study and for comparative studies. Also there is a need for the implementation of experimental pilot reconstruction projects from which results could be disseminated on a large scale to allow learning from the achievements and mistakes.

- Development of communication methods with the affected communities such as audio-visual means, workshops guide-lines and manuals to enhance peoples' participation in shaping the rebuilt environment.

9.8 CONCLUSION

For sixteen years, Lebanon has witnessed different types of anarchy, homelessness, random violence, and meaningless destruction to life and property. The opportunity for reconstruction bloomed in 1977 and 1983 when new hopes sprang up for settling the conflict among the different fractions. The time was not right and the cycle of violence and destruction continued until the end of 1991. This time, the peace settlement has coexisted with the Gulf war and the "new order in the Middle East". However, it is the hope for a lasting peace which depends mainly on the resolution of the political differences between the Lebanese themselves as a pre-condition for reconstruction.

In the media, the country has been considered as an example of misery, devastation, segregation, terror, and violence. "Lebanonization" has become a phenomenon, an image and a model to describe the situation in countries such as: Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Yugoslavia, etc.

In contrast, is Lebanon now going to be the country which provides a model for comprehensive and successful reconstruction which could inspire other unfortunate countries? Is reconstruction in Lebanon going to respond to peoples needs and aspirations? Is the opportunity for reconstruction going to be founded on social justice in which citizenship is important and not religious affiliation? Is Lebanon going to be the country of "Tribes with many Flags" (Fisk, 1990) or is it going to be a country of one nation with one flag? Is Lebanon going to be rebuilt and a few decades later going to be destroyed again because reconstruction, in the wider context, did not resolve important and fundamental issues? Many questions could be posed for which only the future can provide answers.

Despite all the difficulties and obstacles facing reconstruction in Lebanon, the indications, the conditions, the will, the people attitudes, and the politicians manifestos are encouraging for an **opportunity** which hopefully is going to be exhaustively exploited. The tragedy could be turned into an opportunity which resolves basic problems, improves conditions, capitalizes on the use of resources and encourages self-reliance, but without being blinded about outside advantages in terms resources, lessons and co-operation.

Undeniably, this opportunity of reconstruction in Lebanon is a very complex matter with many dilemmas. The solution requires comprehensive planning, management and implementation in order to achieve optimal and effective results. Reconstruction should be more than rebuilding houses and buildings, reconstruction should be associated with economic development, political compromise, and social measures to heal sectarian divisions. This is the difficult task because it is easier to reconstruct buildings than to reconstruct a society.

Khalil Gibran's poem "Pity the Nation" provides a perspicuous ending to this study. The poem embodies the vital ideas highlighted in this research: co-operation, self-reliance, improvement of productivity, political and social justice. It is a hope that these ideas are going to be the "religion" of reconstruction in Lebanon; the "religion" of the opportunity.

Pity the nation that is full of beliefs and empty of religion.

Pity the nation that wears a cloth it does not weave, eats a bread it does not harvest, and drinks a wine that flows not from its own wine- press.

Pity the nation that acclaims the bully as hero, and that deems the glittering conqueror bountiful.

Pity the nation that despises a passion in its dream, yet submits in its awakening.

Pity the nation that raises not its voice save when it walks in a funeral, boasts not except among its ruins, and will rebel not save when its neck is laid between the sword and the block.

Pity the nation whose statesman is a fox, whose philosopher is a juggler, and whose art is the art of patching and mimicking.

Pity the nation that welcomes its new ruler with trumpetings, and farewells him with hootings, only to welcome another with trumpetings again.

Pity the nation whose sages are dumb with years and whose strong men are yet in the cradle.

Pity the nation divided into fragments, each fragment demming itself a nation.

(Gibran, quoted in Fisk, 1990: ?)

*****

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.1: Funds Allocation for Reconstruction Projects in Lebanon for 1980 and 1983.
Source: Iskandar & Baroudi, 1984: 325 & 346.

Allocations Under the Annual Working Plan for 1980

Sector	Expenditure (LL Million)
Housing	150
Potable Water	84
Hospitals and Clinics	127
Road Rehabilitation	175
Port Rehabilitation	175
Support for South Lebanon	150
Government Buildings	36
Development of the Coastline and its Facilities	5
Assistance for the Council of the South	100
National Centre for Vocational Training (Qalmoun)	8
National Agency for the Litani River Project	10
TOTAL	**1,020**

Allocations Under the World Bank Reconstruction Project

	(LL Million)
Roads	2,941
Ports	628
Beirut Airport	700
Water Supply	2,231
Sewerage	797
Telecommunications	4,130
Electricity	3,854
Education	2,222
Health	1,195
Urban Development	2,121
Housing	3,754
Industry	790
TOTAL	**25,364**

APPENDIX 1.2: Sources of Secondary Information Collected in Lebanon for the Study.

Secondary data were collected from different sources in both parts of Beirut (West and East) and in various languages (Arabic, French and English). The main sources of secondary data can be categorized as follows:

1. **University Libraries:** A bibliographical research was carried out in the libraries of Beirut Arab University (BAU) and American University of Beirut (AUB). A list of over 100 references - books, periodicals and papers - has been identified. Copies of relevant documents were obtained locally because of the difficulty of obtaining them outside Lebanon.

2. **Bookshops:** necessary books and magazines published in Lebanon were bought due to the difficulty in obtaining such documents outside Lebanon.

3. **Associations and Research Centres:** This includes the following places:
   - Association of Family Organization in Lebanon (AFOL).
   - Association for the Protection of Sites and Old Houses in Lebanon (APSOHL).
   - Centre of Arab Unity Studies (CAUS).
   - The Lebanese Centre for Documentation and Research (LCDR).
   - National Council for Tourism in Lebanon (NCTL).

4. **Meetings and Discussions:** a variety of meetings and discussions were conducted with key informants to discuss the research topic. These include the following: Dr S. Jazairi (Lecturer at BAU); Dr A. Fa'our (Head of the Geography Department in the Lebanese University); Mrs Z. Mardini (AFOL), Mr S. Tabbarah (Lecturer at the Academie Libanaise des Beaux Arts). Mr M. Yassin (Assistant Lecturer at BAU).

5. **Visits:** various villages in al-Bekaa and Mount Lebanon were visited in order to gain insights into rural life. This involved:
   - documentation of: traditional architecture in term of housing types, materials, construction techniques, architectural elements, etc.
   - Discussions with people about the present housing process and the social and economic problems which they face.

APPENDIX 2.1: An Example of a Qualitative Questionnaire
Source: After the mountain war, the Progressive Socialist Party conducted a survey in al-Burjain 17/11/1985 - 24/11/1985. The author, by contacting the appropriate key figure, was able to get a copy of the completed questionnaire.

The Progressive Socialist Party
The Civil Administration in The Mountain
The Survey and Planning Committee

FORM OF DAMAGE ASSESSMENT IN AL-BURJAIN VILLAGE

Owner's Name : Plot No.

Registration NO. : Plot Location

Dwelling Condition : Completely Destroy. ☐ Partially Destroyed ☐ Damaged ☐

Damage Occured : Fire ☐ Shelling ☐ Targeted Explosion ☐

Other Uses : Shop _____ Storage _____ Others _____

Dwelling Location : Main Road ☐ Secondary Road ☐ Footpath ☐

Housing Units Arrangement Inside the Building and the Occupancy Status of the Households

No. of Floors	No. of Rooms	Floor Area	Plot Size	Building Materials		Households Names and their Occupancy Status					Building Cost	Remarks
				Stone	Concrete Blocks	Name	Household Size	Occupation	Owner	Renter		

Date of Counting : Counted by : Checker's Name :

APPENDIX 3.1: Emergency Phase after al-Asnam Earthquake, Algeria (1981). Source: Hireche, 1987: 42-43.

Emergency Phase according to Hass et al. (1977)	Official interventions organised:	Results
Involves: evacuation of injured, search for survivors, providing food, clothes and temporary shelter. **Finishes** cessation of: search, rescue, mass feeding & housing and clothing clearance of debris from main streets. **Period** 2 weeks	- Designation of the affected area & put it under military control. - Authorizing the use exceptional measures & means to organise rescue operations - Order to ensure organisation & services in the area commence activities & take part in relief operations. - Authorising government to mobilise financial resources as well as change of some legal measures - Formulation of exceptional set of tough measures to discourage looting	The phase took 4.5 weeks twice as long as Hass et al model suggests. The delay was due to: - Lack of pre-disaster legislation & emergency plan. - Unclear definition of responsibilities in 1st week. - Putting area under military control. - Lack of coordination of the rescue activities. - The delay might be explained that Haas et al model was based on recovery of 4 cities. The damage in them is of no proportion to that in Ech-Cheliff.

Casualties experienced by the four cities involved in Haas et al. (1977) study are as follows:

San Francisco: 550 dead; 220,000 homeless.
Anchorage : 17 dead; 3% of the residential structures destroyed
Rapid City : 238 dead; 1600 houses destroyed.
Managua : 6000 dead, 200,000 homeless.

Even though the number of deaths was much higher in Managua than in Ech-Cheliff, the number of homeless on the other hand, which is a deciding factor on the rate of recovery, was half that in Ech-Cheliff.

APPENDIX 3.2: Restoration Phase after al-Asnam Earthquake, Algeria (1981). Source: Hireche, 1987: 46-48.

Restoration Phase according to Hass et al. (1977)	**Government Intervention Organised:**
According to Hass & et.al (1977): Physical & social systems of a community are patched up; some semblance of normality can be observed Indicators of the end of this period are: - Functioning of the major services and utilities. - Return to work. - Demolition of debris. - Starting repairs. Duration varied from month/s to years depending on: - Resources. - Level of organization.	- Electricity after one week. - Administration activities after one week - Railway lines after one week work in industry by the second week - Water pumps by the third week - Delay in providing temporary shelter 1300 tents put by 2nd week of Nov, to shelter 80,000, which did not function till end Dec. - Delay in demolition of debris and dangerous buildings. - Delay in classification of buildings: Green for safe Orange for major repairs Red for dangerous and unsafe This period estimated to be ended by Jan 1981; nearly 17 weeks after the earthquake. This is concordance with the time proposed by Hass et.al for this period , but it is only four times as long as the emergency period.

APPENDIX 3.3: A Comparison Between a Village Rebuilt by People and a Village Rebuilt by Outsiders (Iran).
Source: Pour, 1988: 29-35.

GERAIA	FARSIA
20 families (hamlet).	32 families of 15 households (hamlet).
People changed the location of the rebuilt hamlet to a new one within the boundaries of their formerly nomadic territory in order to get closer to drinking water resources.	The rebuilt hamlet has been rebuilt on new site; the design was carried out by the architects working for the Reconstruction Committee. People in the new settlement have applied for 32 houses; this shows an attempt to nuclearise the households.
The hamlet was design and rebuilt entirely by the heads of the families. It manifest clearly the peoples' ways of life and the patriarchal structure of the community into a built environment.	In spite the architects' effort to touch the real demands of rural life, the outcome remained external to its inhabitants.
Concepts of design were conceived as reunion of families by a clear stratification of public and private spaces (hierarchy).	Concepts of design were based on hygienic concerns about the coexistence of humans and animals. Thus, the houses were bisected: the animals' courtyard linked with the animals' path, and the family's courtyard linked with the pedestrian path, the two paths being separated.
Process of reconstruction was implemented by people themselves for a few months. Mud brick was used for construction not for its preference but due to the unavailability of other materials.	Construction was based on using brick locally produced. But the process of the construction remained alien to the community. Therefore, people were not encouraged to participate in limited building works.
The new hamlet has been completely rebuilt by the community which has started to externalize it to adapt to outside factors such as road and water.	The new hamlet has been rebuilt by outsiders, therefore, the community has started to internalize it - changing functions and spaces, building sheds and ovens.

APPENDIX 4.1: A Brief Account of the History of Lebanon
Source: Hourani (198?) & Salibi (1987).

A- STATE FORMATION

Salibi (1988) provides a comprehensive account about the foundation of the indigenous groups who come to settle down in Lebanon as a product of historical processes. He argued convincingly that all indigenous groups of Lebanon today can be traced back to the successive waves of tribes from the Arabian Peninsula. Lebanon became a refuge for persecuted sects.

> ... not for freedom-loving Syrians who could not abide the "tyranny of the pashas" (Sunnite Rule), ..., but for Greek Catholics persecuted by the Greek Orthodox; Armenian Catholics persecuted by the Armenian Orthodox; or Druzes and Greek Orthodox Christians fleeing for safety from the Wahhabi raids of the early nineteenth century against the towns and villages of the Syrian interior.
>
> (Salibi, 1988a: 147)

In the early 16th century, Lebanon and the rest of Syria were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, with its capital at Istanbul. It was a common policy by the Ottomans to have direct control of the major cities - Damascus, Aleppo, Sidon, Beirut, etc. While the surrounding countryside was left in the hands of powerful families, whom they recognized as local rulers so long as they collected taxes, maintained order, and did not interfere with the imperial roads. The balance of power between these two forces: the city and the mountain was not always stable. It was influenced by family ambitions and external forces.

In the first half of the 17th century, the balance was upset for a time. One local lord, Fakhr al-Din extended his control over the whole of Lebanon and beyond. This was a time of disturbance in many parts of the Ottoman Empire; there were local revolts of various kinds. Fakhr al-Din was supported by some of the Italian states, in particular the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; they were interested in the cultivation of silk in Lebanon. Fakhr al-Din himself spent some times in exile in the Duchy of Tuscany, at Florence, and is said to have brought back from there the masons, carpenters and other artisans who gave Lebanon its distinctive type of architecture, the stone-built houses with their arches and central halls.

Even he is considered as the father of Lebanon, Hourani (198?:) sees this view of him as exaggerated. The state he created was a personal one, it did not express itself in institutions, and it did not last long. What makes Lebanon unique within the Empire were the links with Europe and not only with the Italian states. Catholic missions were established and schools were opened. The Maronite College in Rome trained educated priests. There were links also with the French monarchy, and from now onwards this was to remain a permanent theme of French Policy. If we want a symbolic date for the emergence of Lebanon, it might be 1697, when the family to which Fakhr al-Din belonged became extinct, and some of the lords met in the village of Simqaniyya and chose as their new overlord a member of the family of Shihab.

This was not exactly a free expression of autonomy. The Ottoman governor of Sidon wanted a local chief with whom to deal on matters of taxation and public order. The Shihab Princes were able to control most of what is known now as Lebanon, and they brought under control all the others influential families. A Lebanese feudal system, more fully than before, was developed in which a hierarchy of families having formal relations with each other, controlled cultivation and demanded personal services from the peasants. In this system, there was a symbiosis between Druze and Christian lordly families.

In the early 19 century the delicate balance of power began to be shaken as a result of the growing interest of European states and the change of political and social atmosphere in the region. This resulted in confrontation between Druze and Christian in 1860. The crisis ended with an international agreement, between the Ottoman and the "Concert of Europe". It is in this period that the Lebanon we know becomes

recognizable. Lebanon was to have a governor appointed by the Ottoman government with the consent of the European powers; he should be Christian, but chosen from outside Lebanon and therefore not a Maronite. He was assisted by an administrative council representing the different communities. Lebanon was a privileged entity within the Empire. Even Beirut was not officially part of the privileged district, but in effect it became its capital. It became the centre for European trade and had many foreign institutions.

The Ottoman Empire finally disappeared at the end of the First World War, and the political geography of the Near East had to be re-made. "Syria" was divided in two ways, Britain was to rule the southern part - Palestine or what is known today as Israel - under the new system of Mandates, and France the northern: and the northern part was divided into Syrian and Lebanese states. In 1920 "Greater Lebanon" was proclaimed as a separate state with a potential for independence and with enlarged territories; it included the coastal ports, Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, and the Bekaa valley. A few years later, in 1926, a Constitution was drawn up.

B- CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1860 Druze–Christian war kills 12,000 Christians. French troops land to protect Maronite community.

1914–18 Ottoman rule in Syria collapses during Great War. Mass starvation in Lebanon.

1920 France given mandate for Syria and Lebanon, creates State of Greater Lebanon. British hold mandate in Palestine.

1936 Pierre Gemayel founds Phalange Party after visit to Nazi Germany.

1939–45 British and Free French armies invade Lebanon in 1941 and capture Beirut from Vichy forces. France promises full independence

1946 French troops leave Lebanon

1948 Creation of State of Israel. Palestinian exodus into Lebanon and Jordan.

1958 Civil war in Lebanon as Muslims rally to pan-Arab calls of Egyptian President Nasser. US Marines land in Beirut in accordance with Eisenhower doctrine of resistance to 'international communism' at request of Lebanese President Camille Chamoun.

1964 Palestine Liberation Organisation founded.

1970 PLO guerrillas driven out of Jordan, set up headquarters in Beirut. Increase in PLO raids into Israel from southern Lebanon.

1975 Outbreak of Christian Maronite–Muslim civil war after Phalangists attack PLO guerrillas in Beirut.

1976 Civil war fighting intensifies. Christians massacre Palestinian inhabitants of Karantina and Tel el-Za'atar, Palestinians massacre Christian inhabitants of Damour. Syria invited by Lebanese President Franjieh to intervene in Lebanese fighting. Syrian troops enter Lebanon and occupy all but far south of the country.

1978 Israeli army invades southern Lebanon after Israeli civilians killed in PLO guerrilla raid. United Nations force (UNIFIL) sent to southern Lebanon. Israel forms proxy Lebanese militia in occupation zone to the south. Syrian army shells Christians in east Beirut.

1980–1 Increase in hostilities between Israel, Israeli-backed militias and PLO in southern Lebanon.

1982 Syrian troops besiege Syrian city of Hama after Muslim extremist uprising. Up to 10,000 people slaughtered. Israeli army invades Lebanon after attempted murder of Israeli ambassador to London. On plan conceived by Israeli defence minister Ariel Sharon, Israeli troops attack Syrian forces in the Bekaa Valley, surround west Beirut and demand evacuation of PLO guerrillas and Syrians from Lebanese capital. US–French–Italian forces oversee evacuation of up to 11,000 PLO men. Palestinian women and children remain. Lebanese president-elect Bashir Gemayel murdered after departure of international troops. Israeli forces invade west Beirut, send Christian Phalangist militias into Palestinian camps of Sabra and Chatila. International outcry and demonstrations in Tel Aviv after Phalangists massacre hundreds of civilians in the camps. Israelis withdraw from west Beirut, US–French–Italian multinational forces return to Lebanese capital. Israeli military headquarters in Tyre destroyed in massive explosion.

1983 US Beirut Embassy destroyed by 'Islamic Jihad' suicide bomber. Lebanese and Israeli governments agree on withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon on condition Syrian army also leaves. Syrians refuse to withdraw. Outbreak of fighting between Muslim forces and Lebanese government troops of President Amin Gemayel. Israeli army stages unilateral withdrawal from Chouf mountains east of Beirut to new front lines north of Sidon. French and US military headquarters razed by 'Islamic Jihad' suicide bombers, slaughtering more than 300 servicemen after US warships shell Muslim areas of Lebanon in support of Gemayel's government. Lebanese hold first 'reconciliation' conference in Switzerland. Suicide bomber destroys Israeli military headquarters in Tyre.

1984 Multinational force evacuates Beirut after collapse of Lebanese government army. President Assad of Syria welcomes Gemayel to Damascus. Second Lebanese 'reconciliation' conference in Switzerland fails. Abductions of Westerners in Beirut, including CIA station chief William Buckley, who dies after torture. Fierce Lebanese resistance – mainly by Shia Muslims – against Israeli occupation army in southern Lebanon.

1985 Israeli army withdraws from Sidon. Israel starts 'iron fist' policy of military repression against guerrilla villages in southern Lebanon. Car bomb kills more than 80 civilians in Shia area of Beirut (CIA involvement later reported in Washington). Further abductions of Westerners in Lebanon, including journalist Terry Anderson of Associated Press. Israelis withdraw from Tyre. Shia Amal militia attacks Palestinian Beirut camps. Suicide bombers again attack Israelis and their allies in southern Lebanon.

1986 Shia Amal militia resumes attack on camps. More Westerners abducted. Hundreds of Palestinians die in camp sieges.

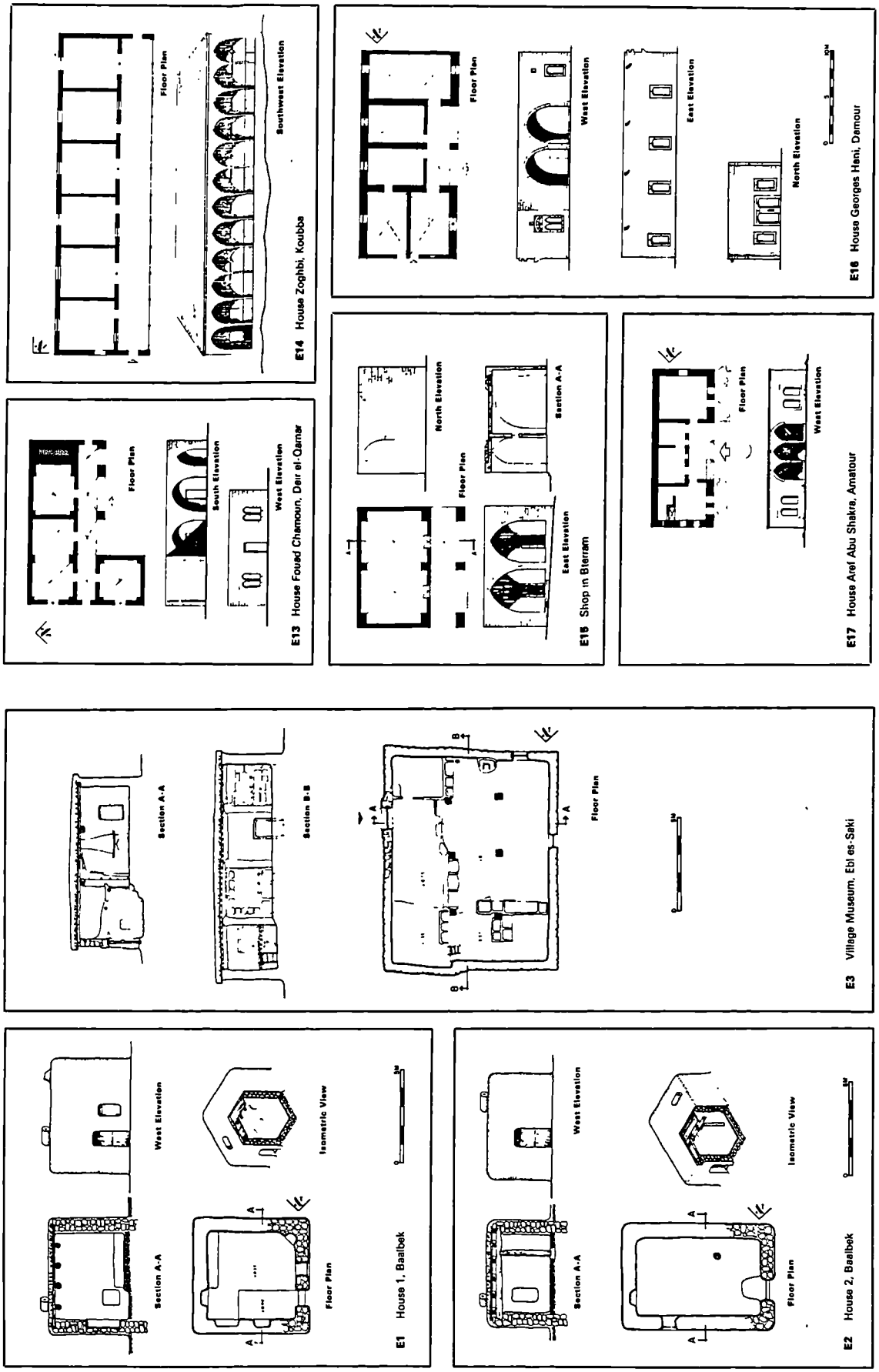
1987 Archbishop of Canterbury's envoy Terry Waite disappears in west Beirut while seeking release of US hostages. Shia and Druze militia war in Beirut prompts return of thousands of Syrian troops to Lebanese capital. Palestinian camps siege resumes.

1988 Failure of Lebanese parliament to elect new president. Rival prime ministers take office in west and east Beirut.

1989 General Michel Aoun, Christian Lebanese 'prime minister', declares war on Syrian army in Lebanon. East Beirut besieged by Syrians and their Lebanese militia allies. Aoun abandons his war.

APPENDIX 4.1: (Cont'd) A Brief Account of the History of Lebanon.
Source: Fisk, 1990: xvi - xvii.

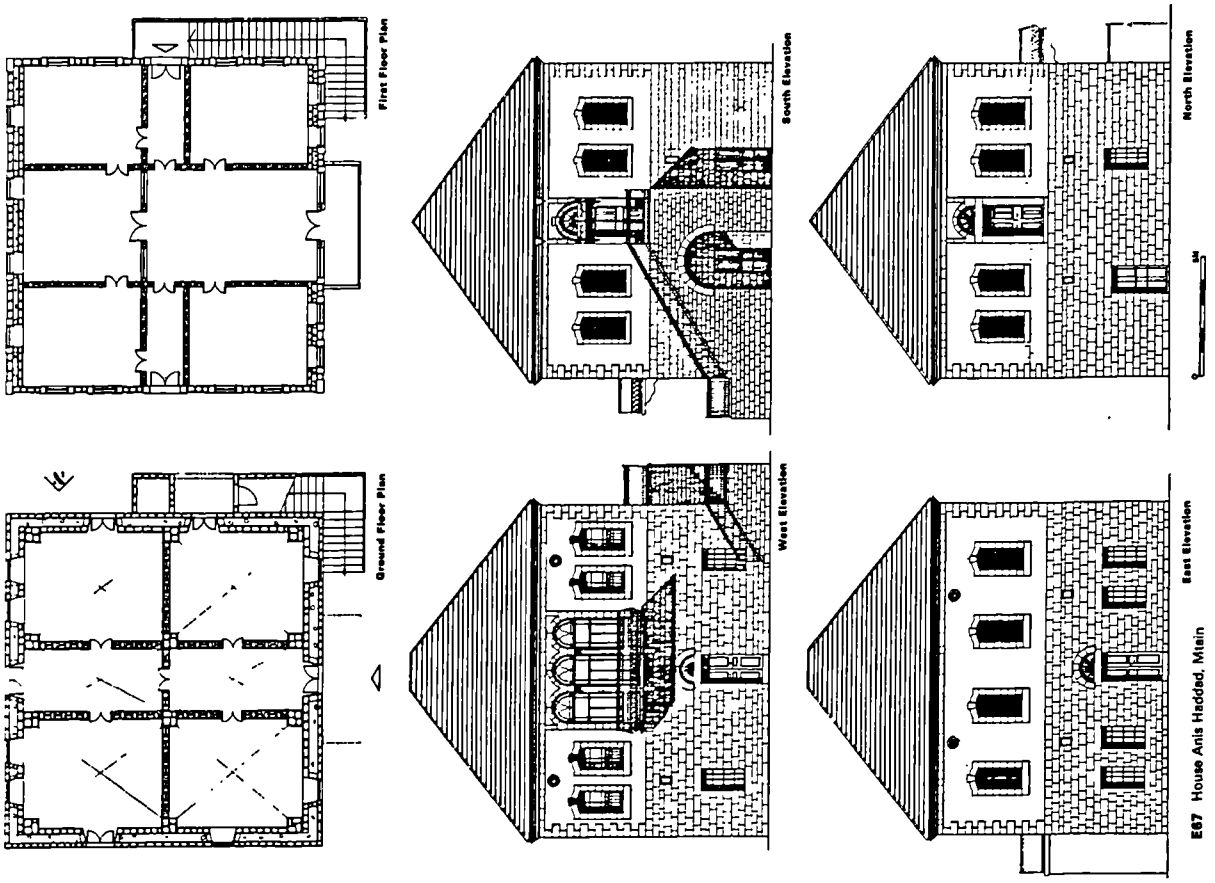
APPENDIX 5.1: Examples of Traditional House Types of Rural Areas in Lebanon.



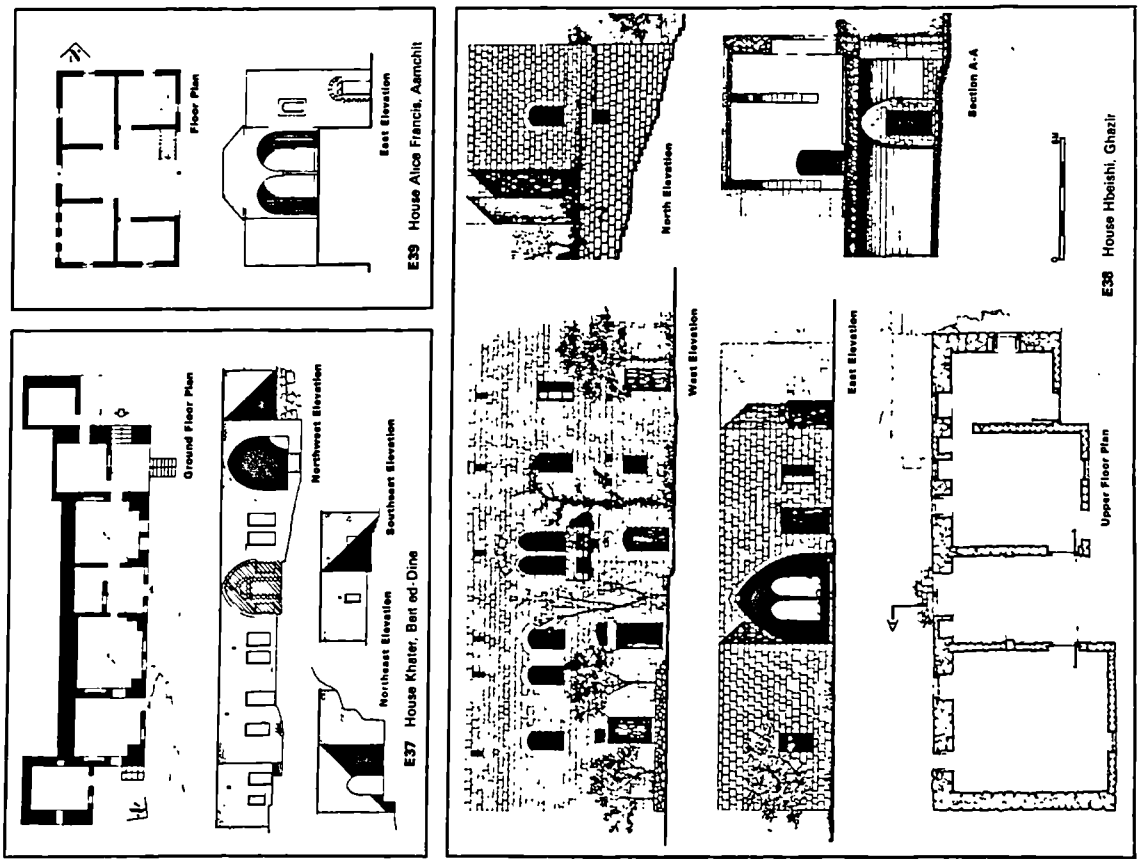
The Rectangular House.
Source: Ragette, 1980: 17.

The Gallery House.
Source: Ragette, 1980: 41.

APPENDIX 5.1: (Cont'd) Examples of Traditional House Types of Rural Areas in Lebanon.

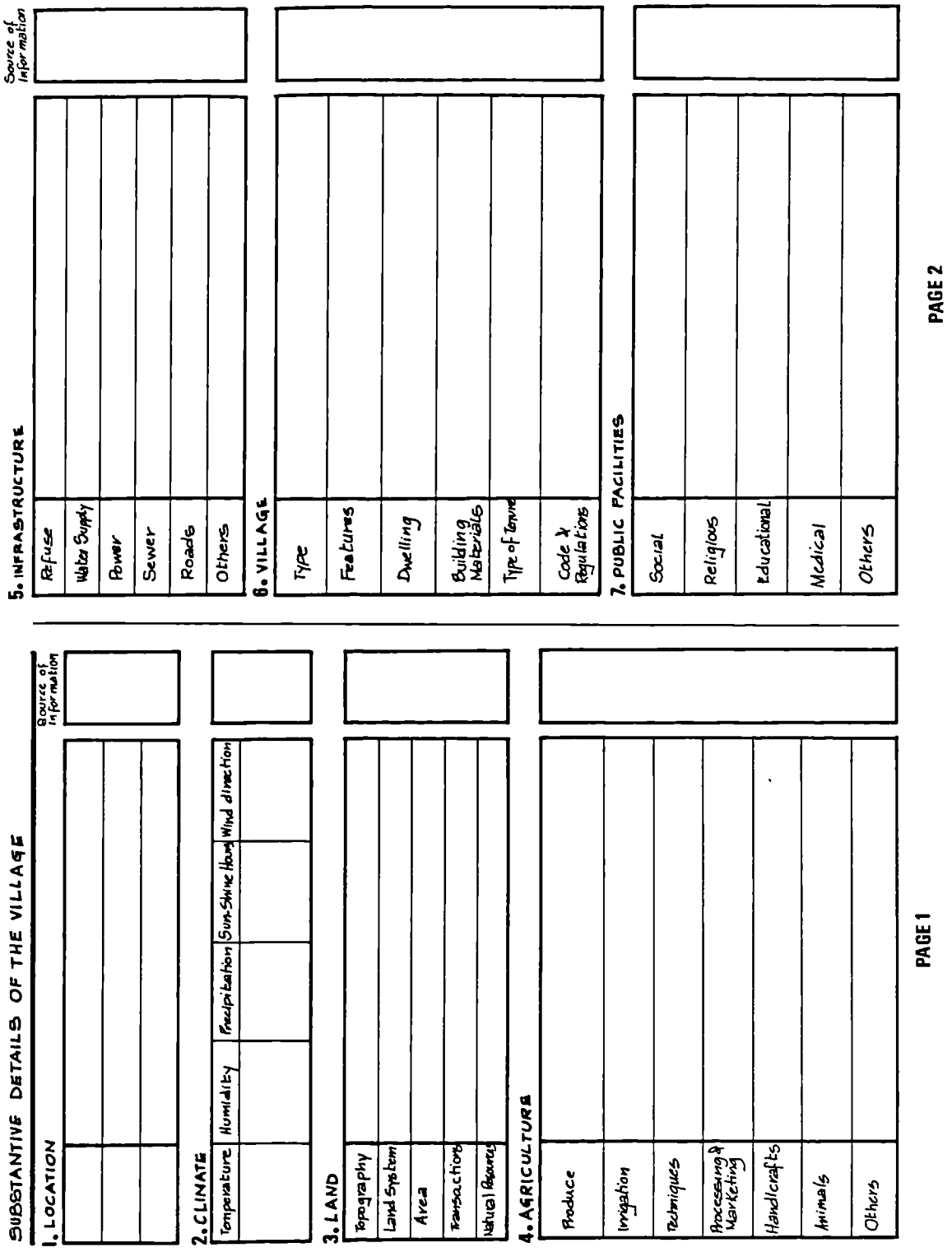


The Central Hall House.
Source: Ragette, 1980: 99.



The Liwan House.
Source: Ragette, 1980: 70.

APPENDIX 6.1: Checklist Used During Discussions with Key Figures.



APPENDIX 6.1: (Cont'd) Checklist Used During Discussions with Key Figures.

APPENDIX 6.2: Comparison Between Qualitative and Quantitative Research. Source: Bulmer & Warwick, 1983: 137-138.

	Qualitative	*Quantitative*
(1) Survey size	Small (30–200)	Large (100+)
(2) Sampling method	Quota/purposive, non-random	Random
(3) Coverage	Typical of specific groups (modal)	Representative (arithmetic average)
(4) Data collection techniques	Unstructured/flexible	Structured/rigid
(5) Enumeration	Interviewer perception and initiative crucial	Interviewer precise discipline crucial
(6) 'Questionnaire'	Adaptive; responsive	Rigid, inflexible
(7) Enquiry method	Indepth	Uniform, formal
(8) Analysis process	Innovative, exploratory, individual, many varied research techniques	Established, deductive standardized
(9) Report content	Soft, impressionistic data	Hard, precise data
(10) Report style	Interpretative narratives with illustrative quotes	Comparative but non-interpretative commentaries on statistical tables
(11) Focus and approach	Multidisciplinary, but only a few well-specified objectives	Single and multidisciplinary, more general
(12) Perceived uses	Understanding and insight of prescriptive value	Facts of descriptive value
(13) Characteristics	Normative/implicative; different investigatory tools utilized to build up an integrated research collage; more sensitive; often involves carefully selected case studies some of which (in particular areas such as agriculture) involve surveys of a long duration	Positive; wide-ranging, 'general purpose' scope; relatively unselective in terms of narrow objectives; expensive; usually time and resource consuming
(14) Advantages	Enables people to investigate problems outside traditional boundaries of enquiry Important where direct measurement of characteristics and understanding of behaviours and attitudes is difficult. Searches out the meaning, causes and relationships of phenomena, i.e. the similarities and differences; reduces non-sampling and total sampling errors; generally quick and relatively inexpensive	Precise quantification with estimates within defined limits Makes for easy comparisons Visible techniques Representative (and thus enables estimation at population level)

APPENDIX 6.3: Variations in Qualitative Interviewing. Source: Patton, 1990: 288-289.

Table 7.1 Variations in Interview Instrumentation

Type of Interview	*Characteristics*	*Strengths*	*Weaknesses*
(1) Informal conversational interview	Questions emerge from the immediate context and are asked in the natural course of things; there is no predetermination of question topics or wording.	Increases the salience and relevance of questions; interviews are built on and emerge from observations; the interview can be matched to individuals and circumstances.	Different information collected from different people with different questions. Less systematic and comprehensive if certain questions do not arise "naturally." Data organization and analysis can be quite difficult.
(2) Interview guide approach	Topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, in outline form; interviewer decides sequence and wording of questions in the course of the interview.	The outline increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. Logical gaps in data can be anticipated and closed. Interviews remain fairly conversational and situational.	Important and salient topics may be inadvertently omitted. Interviewer flexibility in sequencing and wording questions can result in substantially different responses from different perspectives, thus reducing the comparability of responses.
(3) Standardized open-ended interview	The exact wording and sequence of questions are determined in advance. All interviewees are asked the same basic questions in the same order. Questions are worded in a *completely* open-ended format.	Respondents answer the same questions, thus increasing comparability of responses; data are complete for each person on the topics addressed in the interview. Reduces interviewer effects and bias when several interviewers are used. Permits evaluation users to see and review the instrumentation used in the evaluation. Facilitates organization and analysis of the data.	Little flexibility in relating the interview to particular individuals and circumstances; standardized wording of questions may constrain and limit naturalness and relevance of questions and answers.

APPENDIX 6.4: A copy of the Semi-Structured Interview Used During the Survey.

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE (CARDO)

SURVEY :

INTERVIEWER : _____ TIME FROM : _____ TO: _____ CASE STUDY NO : ☐

DATE : _____ VILLAGE : _____ FAMILY INTERVIEWED _____

PLACE OF INTERVIEW : _____

1. HOUSEHOLD

NAME	AGE	RELATION	EDUCATION	WORK / PLACE	REMARKS

2. ECONOMIC SITUATION

INCOME	EXPENDITURE	PRIORITY

3. DISPLACEMENTS

PLACE	YEAR & DURATION	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DWELLING	SOCIO - ECONOMIC CHANGES	REMARKS

4. ORIGINAL DWELLING

				REMARKS
TYPE	House	Flat	Other	
CONDITION	Old	New	Mixed	
LAND	Area	Purchase	Inheritance	
DWELLING	Inheritance Purchase	Build Other	Rent	
DWELLING	Area	No of floors		
COMPONANTS				
INFRASTRUC.	Sanitation Water Supply	electricity Refuse		

5. CONSIDERATIONS

IN USING THE SITE (sketch)	REMARKS	IN THE DESIGN (sketch)

6. PROCESS OF BUILDING

YEAR → (1975 … Displaced)

PART BUILT _____

				REMARKS
FINANCE	Saving	Borrowing	Help	
WAYS OF BUILDING	Self Help	Contractor	other	
COST				
PROBLEMS	Materials Skills	Finance other		

APPENDIX 6.4: (Cont'd) A copy of the Semi-Structured Interview Used During the Survey.

7. MATERIALS

		REMARKS
Roof Floor Walls		
Reasons for not using Traditional Materials		

8.

		REMARKS
What was your Future Plan?	Extension : Improvement : Maintenance :	
Mistakes in Design to be avoid in Reconst.		
Where did Spend Your Free Time?		
What does your Village / Home Mean to You?		

9. PRESENT DWELLING

		REMARKS
Componants		
Infrastructure		
Shelter Provision		
Problems		

10. RECONSTRUCTION

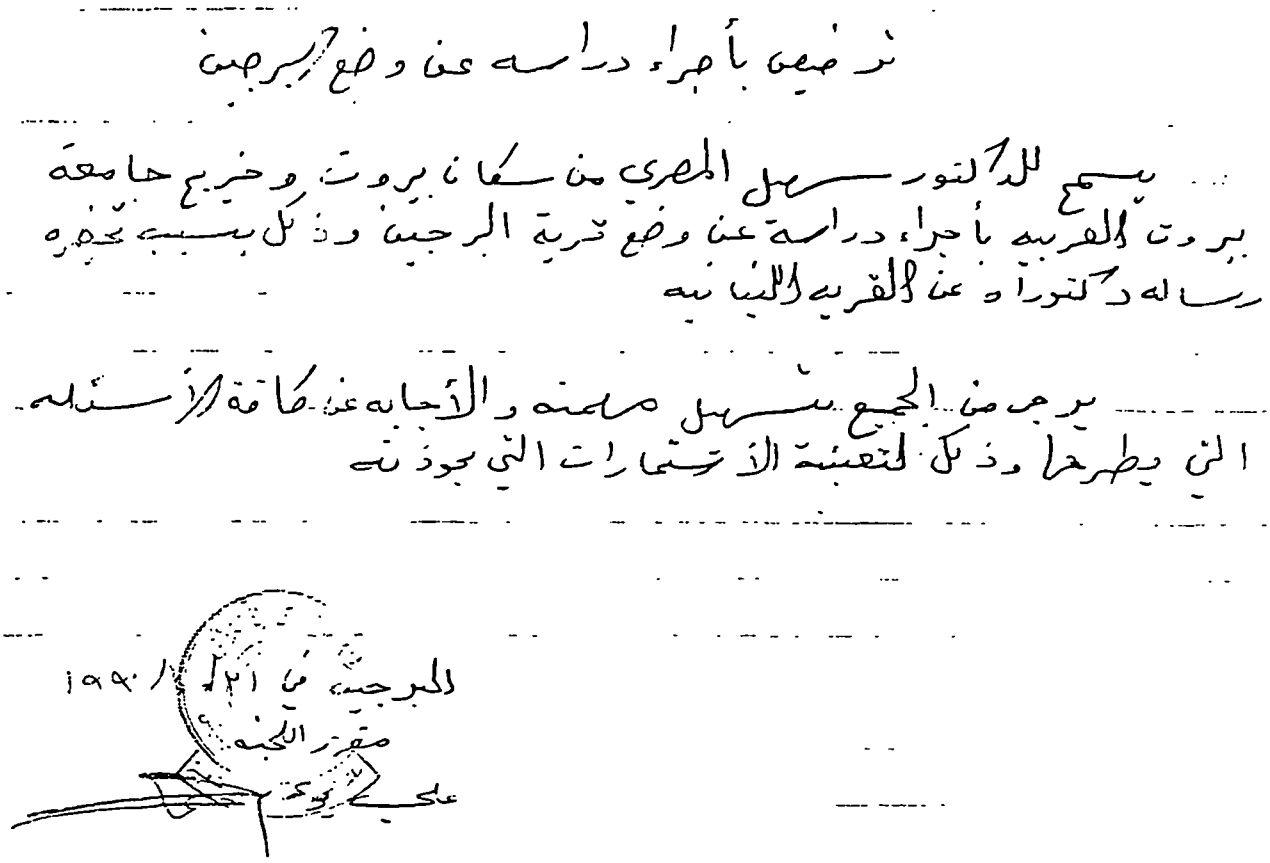
		REMARKS
Condition to Return		
Actions to be Taken by The Government		
Actions to be Taken by the community		
Actions to be Taken by Individual		

10. RECONSTRUCTION (Con't)

		REMARKS
How would like Your Village to be?		
How would like Your Home to be?		
Issues should be Considered During Reconstruction		
Things Improve Life in The Village		
Comment or Suggestion or Question		

11. PHOTOS & REMARKS

APPENDIX 6.5: A Written Permission Issued by the Village Committee to Facilitate the Conduct of the Fieldwork in al-Burjain.



Permission for Conducting Study about al-Burjain Village

Permission is gruanted to Souheil El-Masri, a resident of Beirut and a graduate of Beirut Arab University, to conduct a study of al-Burjain village in pursuit of his doctoral research.

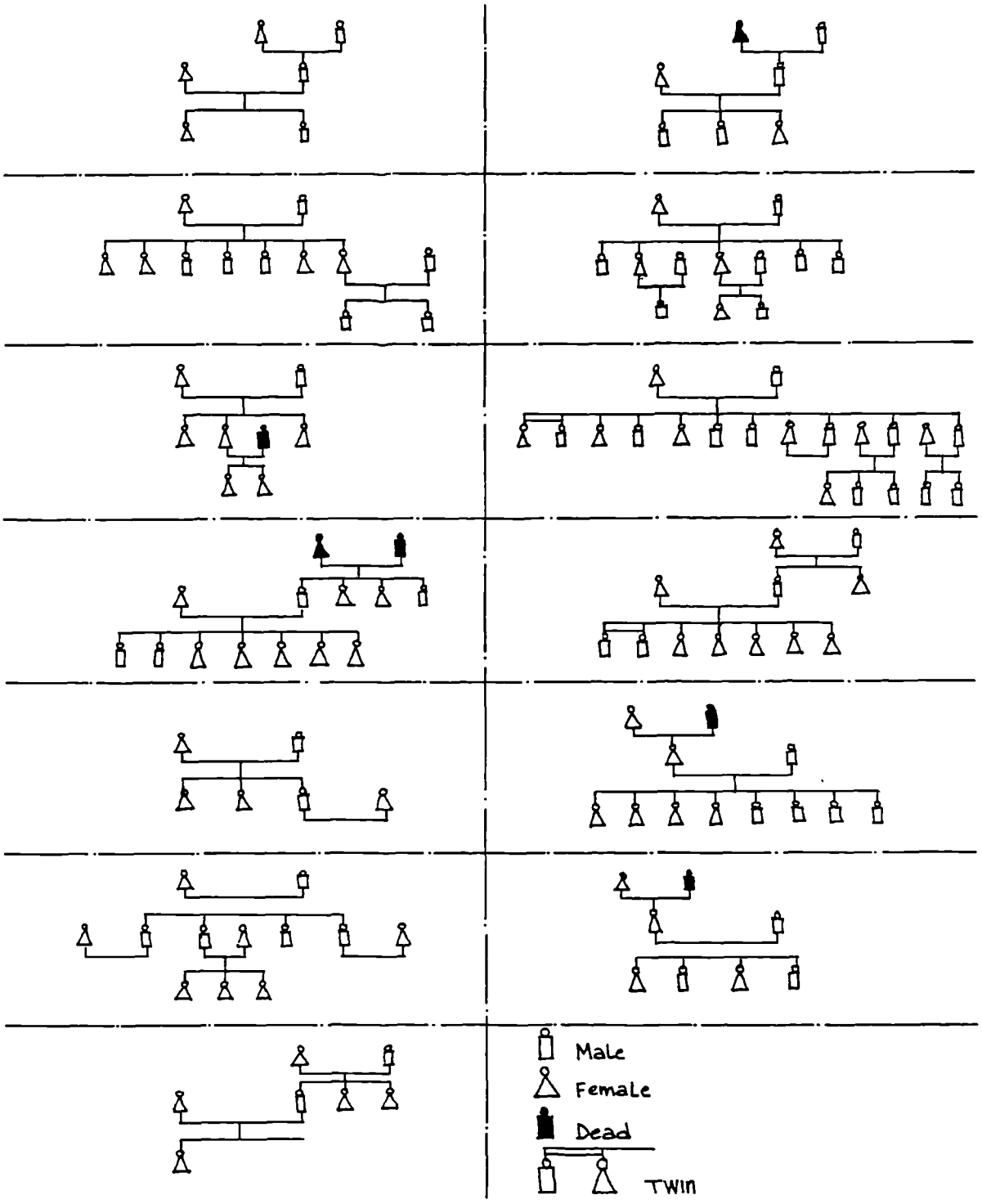
ɪt is hoped that you will cooperate to facilitate his mission by answering all questions to enable him to complete his questionnaire.

al-Burjain 31/7/1990
Chairman of the committee
Ali Abu Aram

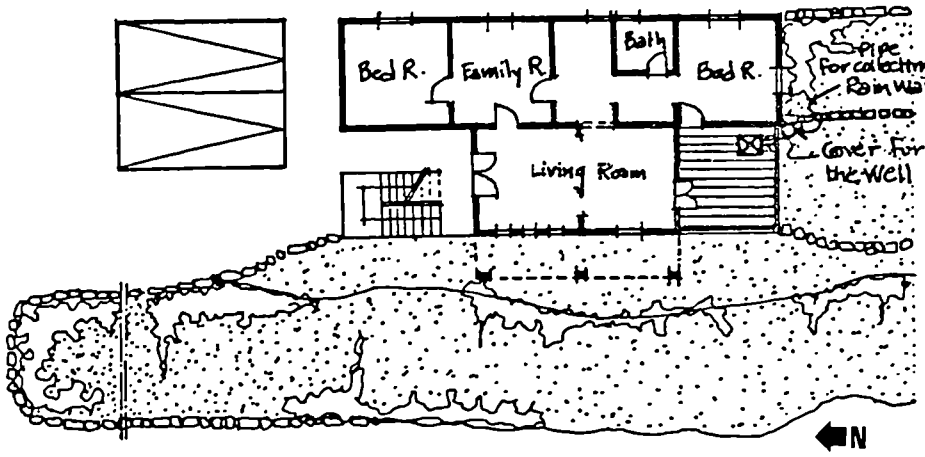
APPENDIX 8.1: A Map shows Locations of Places to which Displaced People of al-Burjain fled to.

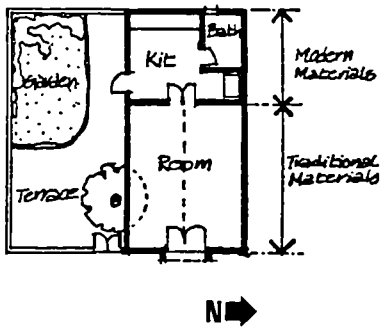
Source: Department of Planning Beirut.

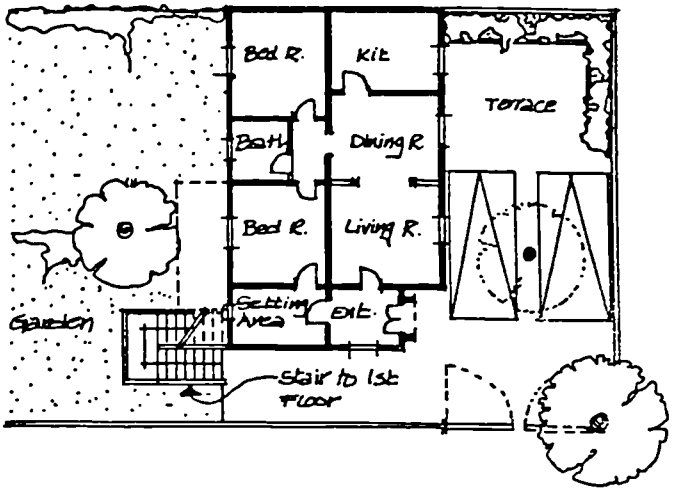
APPENDIX 8.2: Household Structure of Extended Family of the Sample.

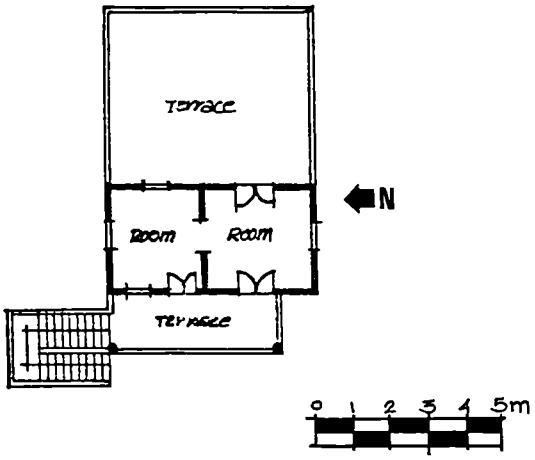


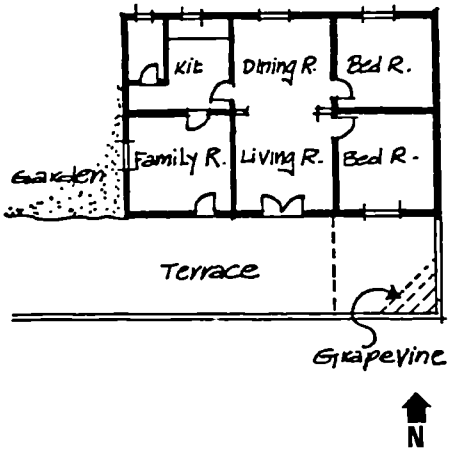
APPENDIX 8.3: Examples of Dwellings, in al-Burjain, Occupied by Displaced People from al-Burjain.
Space Arrangements are Similar to Original Dwellings in al-Burjain.

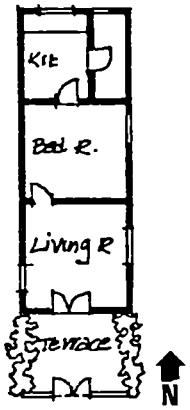


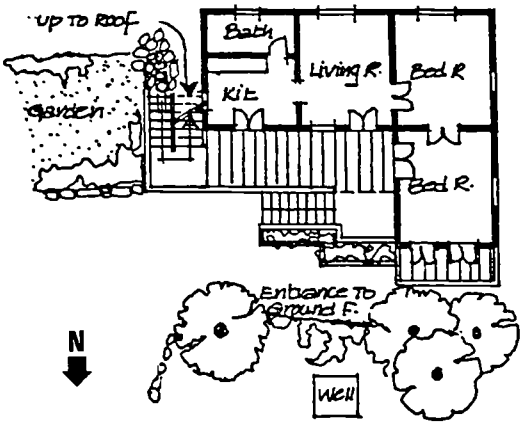












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